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THE

HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA

Guy Carleton Lee, Ph. D.

of

Johns Hopkins and Columbian Universities, Editor

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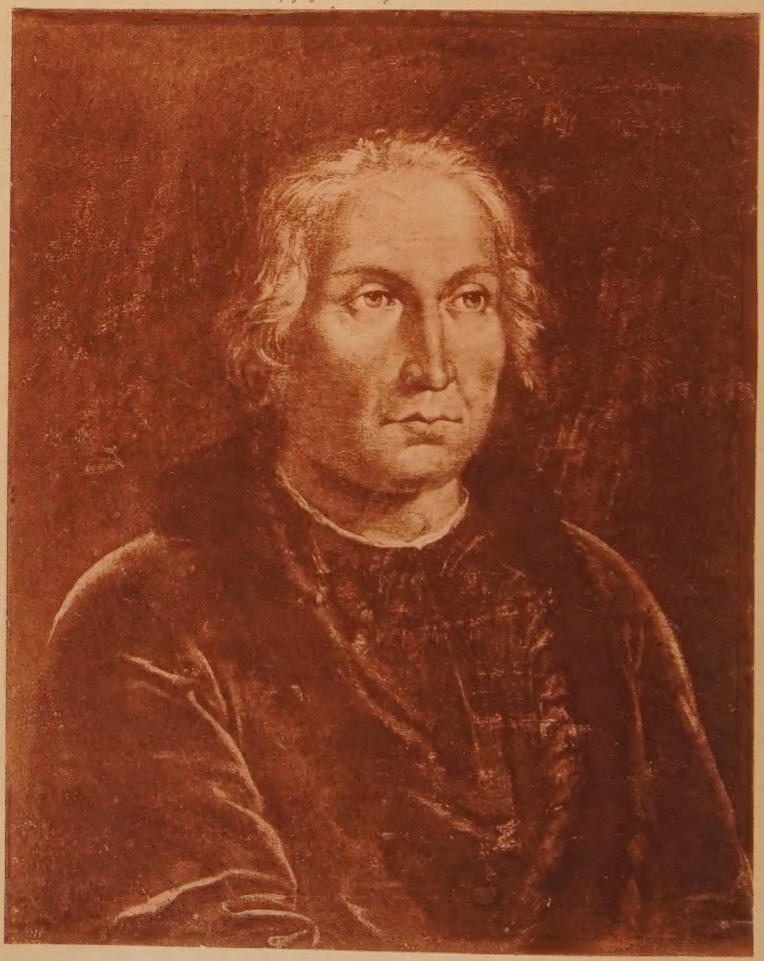

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

After the painting by an unknown artist, now in the Museo Naval at Madrid.

THE HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA

VOLUME I

DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

BY

ALFRED BRITTAIN

Author of: *The Spanish Conquest of Mexico*; *Ocean Voyages in the Fifteenth Century*; *The Exploration of Northern America*; *Transportation in the Civil War*, *etc.*, *etc.*

IN CONFERENCE WITH

GEORGE EDWARD REED, LL.D., S.T.D.

PRESIDENT OF RICHMOND COLLEGE

SOME[illegible] HISTORIAN OF THE [illegible]NSYLVANIA, ETC., ETC.

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DEDICATED

TO THE

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

"THERE is no comprehensive history of America from the discovery to the present time," wrote Albert Bushnell Hart and Edward Channing, professors in Harvard University, when in 1896 they published their *Guide to American History*. This statement was as true yesterday as it had been for fifty years and more before it was uttered by its learned authors. General readers may, however, doubt the accuracy of the assertion above quoted, for to their minds will come the names of America's great historians—Bancroft, Hildreth, Winsor, Von Holtz, Parkman, McMaster, Fiske, Rhodes, and Schouler. An examination of the works of these authors—whose names, it is to be regretted, are more familiar to the average reader than the contents of their histories—will demonstrate the fallacy of the objection to the statement that there is not a comprehensive history of America in existence. All these authors treat limited periods of American history; for example, Bancroft brings his narrative to 1789, Hildreth to 1821, and Winsor to 1840.

Perhaps the statement will be made, in contradiction to that of Professors Hart and Channing, that there are several "general histories of America" before the public. This is, in a measure, correct, but the term *general* is not here synonymous with *comprehensive*, and the works can no more be described as comprehensive than as accurate. They are neither one nor the other, and are unworthy of serious consideration.

It is indeed remarkable that such a state of facts exists and that so patriotic a people as Americans have no work in which they may read, in continuous narrative, the details of the comparatively short but strikingly eventful history of their country or of that of their neighbors to the north and the south. The average American reads his history by periods. He is fairly well informed as to the Civil War and knows something of the Revolution, but little or nothing,—with the possible exception of matters of local or individual interest,—save what he has gained from historical novels, of the flow of events between these two great turning points of national life. He has, in consequence, no historical perspective and has slight conception of American history in its connection with that of the world or of the interrelations of State history. The Landing of the Pilgrims or the Settlement of Jamestown,—this too often determined by the residence of the reader,—Bunker Hill, or the Surrender of Cornwallis, the Declaration of Independence,—never the Adoption of the Constitution,—the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Civil War, the Battle of San Juan, and the Capture of Manila—seem to be the boundary stones of his historical knowledge; and except in rare instances, unless personal experience gives information, they are, as a rule, mere names.

But this lack of knowledge begins to be supplied, because of spreading interest in history. Throughout the United States there are thousands of men enthusiastically working upon historical subjects. These students—and they are found in all walks of life—have not only stimulated historical interest, but have in many cases created it, and to-day by individual efforts and by that of historical societies have, throughout the country, made history the most popular subject of advanced study. When we speak thus of history we do not limit the term to any one of its particular fields, but include within its scope sociology, economics, politics, civics, and all those other divisions that give to history its life and make it more than a record of military operations

or diplomatic activities. It is true that this broad conception of history is one which students in its various divisions seek to modify by asserting preëminence for this or that branch of the history in which they are particularly interested, but the fact remains that ethnology, sociology, economics, politics, and a dozen other subjects are so bound together, so united in one whole, that the history of the people includes them.

The statement that we have quoted in our opening paragraph but voiced the need that was appreciated throughout the scholastic world. All students desired a comprehensive history of America. The stimulus given to historical writing by the lack of such a work found result in the activity of many authors, but, curiously enough, not in attempts to produce the work needed, but to supply materials from which it might be constructed. For example, the last quarter of the nineteenth century was prolific in historical monographs and treatises. Hundreds of well-equipped students with valuable resources at their command collected and gave to the world the product of their research—the data buried in source material. These monographic publications, usually written in the form of theses, were of a nature to preclude their wide circulation; they were strictly academic in style and were of no interest to the general reader and, because of their restricted field, of comparatively narrow value to the historian. Yet this monographic literature must not be underestimated, for it was of great value to the limited number of historians seeking information upon the particular subject treated by the monographist. But the theses did not go far toward solving the problem of the production of a comprehensive history. The treatises were a step further in that direction. They were, it is true, limited in scope, but that limitation was not so destructive to their popularity as in the case of the thesis literature, for they were broader in treatment and had more or less perspective. The majority of such publications were accurate and had in them elements of interest.

Textbooks were published in abundance, but from their nature they cannot be included among comprehensive histories, nor can those standard and scholarly works upon limited historical periods, which have at infrequent intervals during the last twenty-five years been welcomed by students.

During the period under consideration a few general histories have been published. These are confessedly sketchy, and, with only two exceptions, they have not been written by men of standing among scholars. In these two instances, the authors have been handicapped by the limits of space and by the fact that no one man is able to write from his own knowledge of the details of American history in the whole, and within the limits imposed by the commercial necessities of publication produce by his own research a comprehensive history of the United States, to say nothing of that of North America. A writer undertaking the task must depend on secondary authorities; and, as a rule, he incorporates most of their errors along with their correct statements of fact. No more glaring example of this fallibility of historical writers attempting a task too large can be found than in a recent pretentious general history in the compilation of which the author was obliged by the circumstances of production to depend largely on secondary authorities, with the result that more than five hundred errors have been discovered in a single volume.

At the close of the nineteenth century, the need of an authoritative and comprehensive history was apparent; the time was considered ripe for the production of such a work, but the commercial difficulties in the way of its publication in the ordinary course were believed to be insurmountable. These opinions were general among the students of history and may be said to have had three separate crystallizations: one in a group of Western students; another in the East and centring in Harvard; and yet another in the Middle States, centring about Johns Hopkins. The opinion of at least two of these groups of interested historians was that the American Historical Association, the greatest collective

body of historians of America, should take up the matter and give it countenance and support. This determination was given expression at the annual meeting of the association held in 1899 at Boston. The subject was thoroughly discussed by representatives of leading universities, and the matter was put into concrete form. This embodied three general statements:

First: That the history must be "coöperative," it being universally recognized that even if the necessary time were at his disposal no one man was fitted to write such a history.

Second: "The publication to be under an editor-in-chief . . . subject to the determination of the committee which shall represent the association." This because it was unanimously agreed that though no one man could write the proposed history or even be held responsible for the facts of the whole work, yet there must be a directing and guiding mind by which a definite plan might be formulated, and by which the coöperators might be held to its rules.

Third: "The publication to be made in small volumes, each complete in itself so far as it goes." This for the sake of convenience and utility.

The subject of the publication of the comprehensive history under the auspices of the American Historical Association was thoroughly discussed and then referred to the following committee: Professor A. B. Hart, Harvard University (chairman); the Honorable Charles Francis Adams, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Professor Herbert B. Adams, Johns Hopkins University; Professor W. A. Dunning, Columbia University; Professor John Bach McMaster, University of Pennsylvania; Professor F. J. Turner, University of Wisconsin; and Professor Moses Coit Tyler, Cornell University. This committee reported favorably upon the project and stressed the ideas of "an editor-in-chief," "coöperative preparation," and "publication in volumes complete in themselves." The matter was then placed in the hands of the council of the association;

and after much discussion, at a special meeting held to consider the matter, it was decided:

"In view of the difficulties involved, it would not be expedient for the American Historical Association to take part in forming or carrying out a plan for the composition or publication of a coöperative history of the United States."

This determination of the council, although at the time it was uttered it gave rise to much adverse criticism, was, nevertheless, the correct one. The members of the council realized fully the need of a general history. They were heartily in favor of it, but they wisely declined to involve the association in the determination of those to whom the preparation of the work was to be intrusted or to assume the responsibility for the work, thus condemning all other works, after its preparation had been completed. What is more, it relieved individual effort from the check which had for several years been placed upon it by the consideration of the matter by the association. Particularly was the decision of the council approved by the group interested in the production of the present work, a group which had for almost a decade been planning and working upon just such a project as had been brought before the association, of which most of those interested were members and therefore felt bound not to proceed further with their private project until the association had passed upon that submitted to it.

As soon as the council had decided that it was inexpedient for the American Historical Association to assume the responsibility of the plan for a comprehensive history, two of the groups of which we have spoken as especially interested in the matter commenced to push forward their individual plans. The result of these efforts, in the case of one group, has taken concrete form in the present work, which its editor, for all those concerned in its production, can justly state is the first "comprehensive history of America from the discovery to the present time" that has been written, and that it is the only history on its broad lines that has been projected. In fact, its scope extends beyond

that of the history whose lack was regretted by Professors Hart and Channing, in that it includes a treatment of the prehistoric period of America—because that is one of the foundations upon which must rest any large and broad treatment of American history.

The plan approved by the committee of the American Historical Association was, therefore, in its general terms, that settled upon by what may be called the Johns Hopkins University group of authors as the basis of the work that was to be prepared by them and their associates. Certain extensions and additions of the plan were, however, deemed advisable, as it was thought that the proposed work should be so comprehensive as to include the history of Canada, Mexico, and the Insular Possessions as well as that of the United States. It was held that no history of the United States could be comprehensive unless it treated of the relations of the United States with Mexico and Canada, and that a proper understanding of these relations could not be arrived at unless a history of these countries, which have as much right to be spoken of in connection with the term *North America* as the United States itself, were included in the work.

The question of the size of the proposed volumes was one that had not been fully disposed of by the association's plan, but it is believed that each volume was to contain considerably fewer than one hundred thousand words. The editor-in-chief of the present work faced the problem of inadequately treating the subject in twenty small volumes or of forming a series containing forty or fifty volumes, an impracticable and unwieldy number. He decided that fulness of treatment was necessary and that the set should not number more than twenty volumes. It was therefore determined that each volume should contain double the number of words planned by the committee of the American Historical Association, thus making the project twice as extensive; and by means of new type, especially cast for the work, and of a careful arrangement of matter to secure

in a book of one hundred and fifty thousand words the same convenience of form and weight as was originally proposed for the much smaller volume, and this without sacrifice of clearness and attractiveness of typography.

Another modification of the plan of the association is the method of illustration adopted by the editor. The association's committee had planned a book that was to have either no illustrations or at least few of them. It was determined in the present instance to follow a radically different plan and to add to the history all the illustrative material that was necessary to give prominence to the points of the text or to elucidate them. In pursuance of this plan THE HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA is more satisfactorily illustrated than any work of like nature, and yet has the unique distinction of being the one work in which not a picture has been selected for decorative purposes, but all have been chosen because of their value as historical data.

It was likewise held by the editor that a small committee could not be an effective aid to the editor and the authors of a work that was to be as comprehensive in scope as that planned by him. It was therefore decided to enlarge the plan of a committee as suggested to the American Historical Association and to form, of specialists, two large and distinct boards, editorial and advisory, with definite functions.

We find, then, in the present work that the plan of the American Historical Association has been followed, but that it has been enlarged, we may say improved, in the following manner: The scope of the work has been extended to include the history of Mexico, Canada, the Insular Possessions of the United States, and the prehistoric period of North America; the size of the work has been more than doubled; an abundance of informing illustrations has been supplied; a more elaborate and comprehensive system of committee supervision has been secured.

The question of the arrangement of the divisions of THE HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA was a most important one, but was satisfactorily settled by the adoption of a

method of segregation which provided for the following volumes:

I. Discovery and Exploration. II. The Indians in Historic Times. III. The Colonization of the South. IV. The Colonization of the Middle States. V. The Colonization of New England. VI. The Revolution. VII. The Growth of the Constitution. VIII. The Louisiana Purchase and the Westward Movement. IX. Mexico, Central America, and the Southwest. X. The Pacific Slope and Alaska. XI. Canada and British North America. XII. The Growth of the Country from 1803 to 1839. XIII. The Growth of the Nation from 1839 to 1860. XIV. The Civil War. (Part I. From a Southern Standpoint.) XV. The Civil War. (Part II. From a Northern Standpoint.) XVI. The Reconstruction Period. XVII. The Rise of the New South. XVIII. The Development of the North. XIX. Prehistoric North America. XX. Insular Possessions.

The editor having thus determined upon the scope of the various volumes, he next assigned them to those men in his opinion best fitted by training and interest to treat adequately the various subjects. He was particularly fortunate in securing the coöperation of specialists, mostly from the Johns Hopkins group, though with notable exceptions, in the various fields covered by the volumes projected, and he gratefully acknowledges the aid of the gentlemen who have shared with him the labor of the actual preparation of The History of North America and to whom must belong the credit that may arise from their authorship.

Thanks are also due, in no unstinted measure, to the members of the advisory and editorial boards, to the large number of correspondents, and to the leading newspapers of the United States, for the great aid given by them in the production of this work.

Guy Carleton Lee.

Johns Hopkins University.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE work of which this volume is a part traces the history of North America from the earliest geological period down to and including the present year. A volume of the series is therefore devoted to *Prehistoric North America*. It has, however, been deemed expedient, because of certain research work now in progress, to postpone the publication of this book and give it place among the later volumes of the series. The present volume, *Discovery and Exploration*, treats of the first period of the written history of North America, hence it is fitting that it should be the initial member of the series. The volume is of great inherent interest, and this is increased by the methods of the author. He has departed from the usual plan of contributors to the history of North America, and has woven his narrative from the very words of the discoverers and explorers and their contemporaries. The author has preserved the value of the quoted material as a basis of the study of the evidences of the period by his method, and he has increased the value of his work by the style of the original matter which he uses as a setting to the quotations from the sources. It is fitting to state that the documents used in this volume are as edited by the several hands responsible for their original publication. We are confident that the volume is a distinct contribution to historical literature.

GUY CARLETON LEE.

Johns Hopkins University.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

For the student, if not for the average reader, history is a science which finds its analogies in the physical branches of knowledge; and with especial aptitude may figures of speech denoting historical methods be drawn from geological terms. Embedded in what—surely without doing violence to the comparison—may be called stratified literary deposits are the "remains" of the men who made the past. Sometimes the figure is revealed in a completeness which is satisfactory and sufficiently self-explanatory; but more often a mingled mass of fragments awaits the investigator. Thus from the annals, chronicles, adventitious records, contemporary histories, and other forms in which any knowledge of the past has been preserved, the student must select, assort, and articulate, and not infrequently supply a missing part with a cast from his own imagination. This is the method of modern and scientific history.

It is an open question if, for any period the contemporary records of which are unusually illuminative and the relation of the activities under observation to political and other conditions one of marked simplicity, it is not better to introduce the reader to the direct study of the sources. In American history, the period of Discovery and Exploration is especially adapted to this method. The first voyages to the New World, startling in their novelty and picturesque in the element of adventure as they were, could not fail of an ample narration. Moreover, these events

were sufficiently unrelated to Old World conditions and circumstances to tell of themselves the whole story of their period.

For this reason, we believe that the most useful manner in which to present the *History of the Discovery and Exploration of North America* is that which translates and brings together in exact and complete form all the most important of the original sources.

Of course, this method has its own disadvantages. It has been the careful aim of the author, in making his selections, to avoid repetition, and there are many instances where the documents we use are far from being all that might be desired in lucidity of style as well as grace of literary form. But they are all intelligible; and it may be reasonably contended that the inadequacies we mention are compensated for by the added interest which necessarily attaches to the narration of the participant and the eyewitness.

In regard to exploration of the interior of the continent, the author must confess to having frequently been at a loss to know just where to place the line between exploration and settlement. He has, however, adopted the principle that this book should treat only of those journeys by which the various sections of the northern continent were made known in a large way.

It needs only to be added that the author proceeded with this work in the spirit which recognizes that every new vista of American soil which opened itself to the marvelling eyes of the first discoverers meant an added portion to the gift of half a world which All-wise Providence presented to civilized humanity in due season.

ALFRED BRITTAIN.

Hobart College.

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CHAPTER I

PRE-COLUMBIAN DISCOVERIES

THE record of the beginnings of American history, unlike that of the origins of the history of the countries of the Old World, is established and attested by contemporaneous documents. With the exception of the voyages with which the present chapter will deal, the discovery, the peopling, the development of America went on under the eyes of scholars who carefully recorded the great events of their time. They noted the circumstances attending the movements which opened a new world to European emigration and commerce; and we have inherited their descriptions. There is nothing vague and uncertain, none of the mists of antiquity, about the history of America. The New World was born in the full sight of all men. All that corresponds to the mass of doubtful legend and problematical tradition with which the histories of other countries begin is found solely in the notices of pre-Columbian voyages to the West. These latter are without great importance. From this verdict, however, we except the explorations of the Norsemen, in regard to which there is good documentary evidence. But as no social or political development followed these casual voyages, they demand nothing more than a referential treatment in a history of America. What of importance adheres to them results solely from the fact that they kept alive among the scientists and seamen of Europe a curiosity concerning what

might lie on the western confines of the Atlantic. Columbus inherited the knowledge of certain theories and facts upon which he based his belief in the possibility of reaching India by sailing westward. In the study of the ideas and happenings which eventually led to the discovery of America, it will be necessary for us to revert to the fountain head of geographical science, which, like all the beginnings of western philosophy and history, is found in that old civilization which once fringed the Mediterranean Sea. It was there that man began to form scientific conceptions regarding the shape of the earth and the number and variety of its inhabitants. These theories were crude in the extreme; but in course of time they approached such accuracy as to be of practical value to explorers. Chief among such developments of the human mind, and leading to the great result which we are to study, was the improvement in the science of navigation.

From the paddle to the sail was a marvellous advance in all that pertains to human progress. Exactly when it was made can never be ascertained. Once employed as a means of propulsion, however, the wind proved itself to be a potent engine in the work of advancing civilization by the development of commerce. "The adoption of sails gave wings to the human race." Light craft, laden with valuable cargo and adventurous passengers, could now find their way to every harbor; albeit for lack of compass and sextant those who steered them were obliged to depend upon their observation of the stars. Thus it came about that centres of activity multiplied, and in bustling marts like those of Tyre and Sidon riches accumulated, and the knowledge of limits was widened through external intercourse. That the foundation of this knowledge of the world should have been laid by the Semitic race was most natural. Born traders,—we do not here refer to the pastoral Israelites,—their situation was in every way favorable for the cultivation of their hereditary gifts, while natural curiosity and eager interest ever stimulated them to fresh activity.

In consequence of this knowledge, and impelled by these motives, as early as six hundred years before the beginning of our era, Phœnician sailors doubled Cape of Good Hope, returning from the African coast by way of the Pillars of Hercules and Straits of Gibraltar. Not less remarkable was the voyage made by one Hanno, a Carthaginian, who reached Sierra Leone on the coast of West Africa, as the extant Greek version of a contemporary tablet still testifies. The knowledge thus gained was not only an influential factor in broadening the vision of Oriental minds, but provided a vantage from which the Hellenic intellect to which it descended might take new flight.

Between what the Greeks actually knew of geography and those empirical notions regarding the shape of the earth that formed such a characteristic part of their philosophy, it is well to draw a broad line of demarcation. And it is interesting to watch the development of their geographic knowledge as culture gradually emerged from the intellectual haze of early times. Striking is the contrast, for example, between the intellectual attitude of the Homeric Age and the conceptions which were arrived at by the penetrating speculations of men like Aristotle and Plato. That the earth was a vast plain stretching from the Ægean Sea to the river Oceanus was to the primitive Greek one of the most natural ideas imaginable. What lay on the other side of Oceanus, the unknown river that swept the borders of an Atlas-propped world? Tartarus, a mythical region affording a boundless field for the play of Greek imagination.

Meanwhile, geographical knowledge was continually being fostered, especially by the Greeks of Asia Minor, as new colonies were planted and the expansion of commerce impelled the trading classes to visit other lands. To the practical need for ascertaining the shape of the earth there was added the persistent curiosity of the race in regard to lands and peoples other than their own; consequently, historians like Herodotus could not refrain from enlivening their narratives with geographical and ethnical descriptions.

These were more often based on what they imagined than on what they actually knew.

Just who it was that first taught the doctrine of the earth's sphericity appears to be doubtful. It may have been Pythagoras. At all events, it was a favorite idea of the school that adopted his name, and was by it transmitted to succeeding philosophers, including Aristotle and Plato, who not only demonstrated its truth from the shadow of the earth at lunar eclipses, as well as from other natural phenomena, but were even able, in a practical way, to impress their views upon the minds of their contemporaries: For instance, the Atlantis described by Plato was in popular estimation the scene of some of the most celebrated exploits of the Athenians. This mysterious continent lay over against the Pillars of Hercules. Its existence is so enveloped in clouds of fable as almost to relegate it to the category of fiction. In size it was supposed to be of an area larger than that of Libya and Asia combined. All through ancient and mediæval history the tragic story of Atlantis maintained a strong hold on the popular imagination. It may have been based on traditions of a land submerged by the ocean, or upon some faint knowledge —sometime possessed by the ancients, but ever growing dimmer—that at the antipodes there were lands peopled with beings like themselves, interested in like matters and swayed by similar impulses, but between whom and themselves there yawned what seemed to be an impassable gulf.

With Aristotle we come to firmer ground. To him the sphericity of the earth appealed as something more than an idea based on the conception of a perfect form, as it had done to the Pythagoreans. Indeed, it is to Aristotle, more than to any other man of antiquity, that we are indebted for those teachings which were destined eventually to guide Columbus across the Atlantic. Aristotle declared that "those persons who connect the region in the neighborhood of the Pillars of Hercules with that towards India, and who assert that in this way the sea is one, do not assert

things very impossible." Then again, "the world as known to us is really an island lying in the midst of the Atlantic. Probably there are other similar worlds, some larger than ours, some smaller, separated from it by the sea."

Far more practical than either Plato or Aristotle was Eudoxus of Cnidos, who not only proved mathematically the globular shape of the world, but divided it into two temperate zones and one torrid. The Greeks were able to turn such knowledge and what had already been gained by travel to practical advantage when fitting out commercial expeditions such as those organized under the guidance of the Ptolemies. Great military campaigns, moreover, especially those of Alexander, who really opened the East to the West, were also a ready means of collecting and disseminating geographical knowledge. Pytheas of Massalia, as early as B.C. 350, had visited the amber coast of the Baltic, as well as the tin mines of Britain, thus familiarizing his countrymen with the northern parts of Europe.

Numerous groups of scientists, not only in Athens, but later on in Alexandria, the centre of a new Greek world, were quick to avail themselves of the rich material they found ready to their hand. Chief of these was Strabo of Amasia, who lived in the first century of the Christian era. He it was who not only improved on the theory of Aristotle, but went so far as to suggest the existence of a western world with a latitude corresponding to that of the eastern.

On the Tiber, geographical research, independent of what was based on Greek authorities, never attained to very great importance; for, possessing superior practical sense, the Romans fell far short of their Hellenic kinsmen in all that depended upon the imagination and philosophic inquiry. This fact becomes even more obvious when we look for traces of Roman geographical knowledge based on pure reasoning or original research. Men like Cæsar, Tacitus, and Livy were keen observers, and furnish us with no inconsiderable amount of information regarding the countries of northern

and western Europe. The bare fact, moreover, of world empire was not without its visible impression, since the rulers were obliged to know something about the lands of those whom they governed. Nor were the long struggles with the Carthaginians and other rivals without their influence in fostering geographical knowledge among the Romans. In Roman history, however, there were only three names of men who are entitled to be ranked as eminent geographers. These are Pomponius Mela, Pliny, and Ptolemy. But while Rome was widening the bounds of the earth in a practical way, her learned men had received from Greece the theory regarding the spherical shape of the earth, which was adopted by writers like Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, and Seneca and passed on by them in turn to the men of the Middle Ages. In this way it eventually descended to Columbus.

No more striking proof of this heritage of an idea could be furnished than the fact that in 1410 the *Medea* of Seneca—along with his other tragedies—was published at Venice; and in the margin of the lines containing the prophecy that one day the ocean would be crossed and new lands discovered, Ferdinand, the son of Columbus, is said to have written: "This prophecy was fulfilled by my father, Christopher Columbus, the admiral, in 1492."

Even in the so-called Dark Ages of the mediæval period the classic theory of the earth's shape was never entirely lost sight of. Referred to by some of the early patristic writers, it acquired renewed importance when adopted by the schoolmen. About the year 1266, for example, Roger Bacon compiled in his *Opus Majus* all the Oriental and classical knowledge relating to geography that he could gather, as well as the arguments in favor of the possibility of reaching Asia by sailing in a westerly direction from some point of Europe. Almost two centuries later, namely in 1410, appeared another mediæval work that was to represent the scientific knowledge of the day regarding the earth and to popularize theories until then monopolized by the

savants. This was the *Imago Mundi* of Cardinal d'Ailly, Bishop of Cambrai. It did not appear in printed form until 1490, but for eighty years manuscript copies of it circulated rather freely, and one of them—now exhibited in the Columbian Library at Seville—was owned by Columbus.

The ultimate discovery of America, as will be more fully pointed out in a later chapter, was one of the fruits of the Renaissance. The fall of Constantinople in 1453, by shutting up the principal route to India, rendered the discovery of a new passage to the East a matter of imperative necessity. The trend of thought was in the right direction. Already the Italian poets were singing of the true Hesperides behind the setting sun, where gladness and abundance might be had for the seeking. Dante in his *Inferno* tells how Odysseus braved a hundred thousand perils in search of new seas and lands; while Pulci, who flourished a century afterward, predicts in his *Morgante Maggiore* that:

> "Men shall descry another hemisphere,
> Since to one common centre all things tend."

In the meantime, while geographers were theorizing as to the possible existence of a land beyond the Atlantic, and the poets, with their customary license, were taking it for granted, Europeans were actually going thither. But these visits were in almost every case accidental, and never under such circumstances as to make colonization possible, without which intercourse could not be maintained. The mere recital of the names and nationalities of those who are said to have anticipated the work of Columbus forms a lengthy list. Almost every country, ancient and modern, is represented. There are those who profess to find in the archæological remains of Mexico and Central America evidences which point to an original source in Egypt. Many, arguing from the ancient commercial history of the Orient, maintain that the western continent was not unknown to the Phœnicians. There are theories, moreover, that America was discovered and peopled by the

Canaanites, the Arabians, the Lost Tribes of Israel, the Chinese, Tartars, Iberians, Scythians, Basques, Japanese, Welsh, Irish, and Norse. To the great majority of these suppositions, though they may interest the argumentative investigator, there can be made no claim of attention in serious history. Of some of the individual adventurers, however, who are mentioned by name, it is perhaps worth while to speak. There were the two Celtic missionaries, St. Maclou and St. Brandan, who are said to have crossed the Atlantic, at different times and separately, during the sixth century, reaching in safety some part of the American coast. The ancient maps were marked with the island of St. Brandan, a spot which he and his companions were believed to have reached. It was "the fairest country that any man might see, in which the trees are charged with ripe fruit and flowers." Those who are interested in the legend may find eight distinct versions of it in as many different languages. The fullest is contained in William Caxton's *Golden Legend.*

Not more probable is the account of Cibola, the country of the seven wonderful cities, long believed to have been founded in the eighth century by seven Spanish bishops, but now judged to have been based on the flight of a Portuguese archbishop to the Cape Verd Islands when the Arabs invaded southern Europe. The island of the Seven Cities was also known as Antilia, a name which the Spaniards afterward, in the form of Antillas, bestowed upon the West India Islands. Cibola had no more real existence than the Eldorado of Sir Walter Raleigh; but both superstitions took a firm hold on minds eager to gain wealth, and had their effect in influencing the motives which led to the final discovery and exploration of America.

Less popular than either of these legends was the reputed visit, in the tenth century, of one Ari Marson, of Limerick, Ireland, to a region he styled "White Man's Land." This has been thought by the credulous to have been America, but a much larger and more sceptical group of historians

take it to indicate some remote portion of Europe. As little importance may be attached to the traditional account of the discovery of America by a Celtic prince. This theory had the support of the poet Southey, who based upon it his epic styled *Madoc*. According to a brief outline of the story, Owen, King of North Wales, having died in the year 1169, a dispute took place among his heirs regarding the succession to the throne; as an outcome of the contention, Prince Madoc fled westward across the sea, finding his way, in the succeeding year, to the shores of America. He is represented as having been so well pleased with the country, that on his return to Wales he left some of his companions behind in order to occupy the land, but was never again heard of by them. A host of other apocryphal voyagers before Columbus come trooping before the mind's eye. We have, for example, stories like those of the Venetian brothers, Vacino and Guido Vivaldo, who, in the opinion of some authorities, found their way late in the thirteenth century to this side of the Atlantic; of Nicolo and Antonio Zeno, who, a century later, made important voyages in the waters of the Western Hemisphere, their alleged discoveries confirming those of an earlier fourteenth century shipwrecked fisherman of "Frislanda"; of the storm-tossed Cortereal; of the Polish pilot Szolkny; of Martin Behaim; of Cousin and Pizen of Dieppe. Of greater interest is the story of Alonso Sanchez de Huelva, the pilot who is said to have died at the house of Columbus, leaving in the latter's hands the journal of a voyage that proved of inestimable service to the discoverer.

That accidental voyages were made to America long before the advent of the great Genoese mariner is not only possible, but in a high degree probable; for among the flotsam and jetsam that in ages past drifted to the shores of our continent there may have been more than one navigator who had lost his bearings in the storm and stress of primitive modes of travel. The narration of their vicissitudes, moreover, contributed in no slight measure to preserve and

strengthen among the vast multitude the traditional conviction that across the seas there existed unknown lands and races. But such belief was followed by no practical results.

As we have already seen, Europe is not the only continent laying claim to the discovery of the Western Hemisphere. Of African pretensions some notice was taken in our allusions to the supposed Egyptian origin of Aztec civilization; while a mere glance at the map will readily indicate the ease with which South America can be reached from Africa. Nor is it necessary to mention in detail the similarity existing between the fauna and flora of the two continents. Turning meanwhile to the early relations that may have obtained between Asia and America, conjecture appears to assume an even more tangible nature, especially when one perceives that the Aleutian Islands and Bering Strait afford a natural causeway, so to speak, inviting immigration from the Orient. To employ the forcible words of Justin Winsor, "there is hardly a stronger demonstration of such a connection between the two continents than the physical resemblance of the peoples now living on opposite sides of the Pacific Ocean." Nevertheless, there is little that is ascertainable which can be said respecting the settlement of America by Asiatics, except that the conjecture is certainly within the range of plausibility. More striking than this is the alleged discovery of the Pacific coast by Buddhist priests early in the fifth century of the present era. This ought not to be passed over in silence, as there are numerous cultural indications pointing to their influence on the primitive religion and architecture of Mexico and Central America. The first of these missions, if we are to credit an unusually widespread legend, occurred as early as the year 458. We are told that it was followed, almost half a century later, by the visit of a certain Hui Shen, a member of the college of priests at Cabul,—at that time a centre of the Buddhist propaganda,—who not only succeeded in reaching Alaska by way of Kamchatka, but journeyed southward through a country to which he gave

the name Fu-Sang. There is said to be a Chinese record of this event. And, curiously enough, an old tradition among the Mexicans contains an account of the mysterious visit, long ago, of a white man, a "Fair God," by whom their race was instructed in the elements of civilization, but who finally vanished as suddenly and as inexplicably as he had appeared—where and whither no one was ever able to relate. It is possible that Fu-Sang was America, but, on the other hand, it was probably only Japan that Hui Shen visited.

With but one exception, it may be said of all the so-called discoveries of America, either by Orientals or Occidentals, before the time of Columbus, that they lack trustworthy documentary evidence. Owing to this absence of the highest order of proof, they are not to be regarded as coming within the range of the ordinary historian. The single exception just noted is the discovery of our continent in the early part of the eleventh century by Norse mariners from Greenland; and in support of this theory we have a considerable amount of cumulative proof.

The discovery of America by the Norsemen is a theory that owes no small part of its popularity to the exertions and scholarly attainments of one man, whose work on the antiquities of his race may well be called a monument to his genius. We refer to Professor Karl Christian Rafn and his *Antiquitates Americanæ*. The universal enthusiasm which greeted the first appearance of this book, in 1837, has since to a certain degree subsided; but the work of this learned Dane may even yet be called an epoch-making contribution to historical science. Immediately giving an enormous prominence to the long-current stories of early voyages to Vinland,—identified with America,—it at the same time aroused widespread popular interest in the folklore, literature, and history of ancient Scandinavian peoples. As was perhaps natural in view of the novelty of the subject, a primary result of Rafn's widely heralded thesis was a diminution at first of the glory of Columbus. But the inevitable reaction at length set in, and now, while accepting as true

much that is claimed for the exploits of the Norse adventurers, we may still retain every whit of our admiration for the unsurpassed achievement of the Genoese.

Engaged for many years in investigating the origins and institutions of his people, Rafn had studied, with special care, the traditionary accounts of explorations claimed to have been made by hardy members of his race at the beginning of the eleventh century. Nor is it at all surprising to find that these movements of the Norsemen in the Western Hemisphere were very closely connected with the wanderings of their race which resulted in the settlement of northern Gaul by some of the stock, the conquest of a large portion of Britain by other bands, the occupation of Iceland, and the infusion of Norse blood into almost every nationality of Europe. Why this happened and how it came about are facts which are clear to the average student of history.

Down to the latter part of the ninth century, Norway—then of far greater territorial extent than it is in the present day—was composed of a number of petty kingdoms whose chieftains were engaged in constant strife with one another. Finally, however, the revived idea of imperialism, triumphing in the birth of the Holy Roman Empire with Charlemagne for its head, gradually made its way to the Scandinavian peninsula, as it had to England, to France, and to almost every other part of Europe. The work of national consolidation, as opposed to the separatist tendencies of feudalism, at once set in. To destroy in Norway the political ascendency of the jarls, or barons, and construct in its place a central solidified government, organized for the entire people, was the mighty task that fell to the lot of Harold Fairhair. He approached the object of his constructive statesmanship with so strong a hand that he quickly overcame all his rivals on the mainland, as well as the bold vikings ruling the Orkneys, Shetlands, Hebrides, and the Isle of Man. The conquered jarls were not content with their altered and humbled position; hence it is not at all surprising to find that the triumph of the royal

power was accompanied by that great Norse migration which so profoundly affected the course of political events throughout a large part of the civilized world. The Norse people made for themselves numerous and successive abodes in consequence of these stirring episodes in their national history. One such new home was soon afterward found in Iceland. This was in the year 874. Snowland is what the vikings first called the country, but the name was soon afterward exchanged for that which it has since retained. "There," to quote the words of the late John Fiske, "an aristocratic republic grew up, owing slight and indefinite allegiance to the kings of Norway. The settlement of Iceland was such a wholesale colonization by communities of picked men as had not been seen since ancient Greek times, and was not to be seen again until Winthrop sailed into Massachusetts Bay. It was not long before the population of Iceland exceeded fifty thousand souls. Their sheep and cattle flourished, hay crops were heavy, a lively trade with fish, oil, butter, skins, and wool, in exchange for meal and malt, was kept up with Norway, Denmark, and the British Islands; political freedom was unimpaired; justice was, for the Middle Ages, fairly well administered; naval superiority kept all foes at a distance, and under such conditions the growth of the new community was surprisingly rapid."

Not a mere material growth was this splendid progress of Iceland. Under the favorable conditions thus described, there was soon developed an intellectual vigor, of a most robust character, which has an intimate bearing on the main subject of this volume. It is during such stirring, hero-breeding national movements as these that the best poetry has ever been created. So there blossomed on the fjords of Iceland, centuries before the days of Dante and of Petrarch, a Norse literature which is especially interesting to American readers,—the Sagas, the name being derived from an old Scandinavian word signifying "a story." Depending on oral tradition, the Sagas were gradually elaborated by successive generations until, in the twelfth century, the

extended use of writing gave them permanent form. However much this fact may put us on our guard, there is too much corroborative proof of their main trustworthiness to cause us either to reject or to consider them in any other light than as a faithful mirror of contemporary thought and history. Accordingly, it is easy to understand how the Norsemen were led, step by step, to the American coast, although it will always remain an impossible task to point out with assured accuracy the precise places which they visited.

Since Greenland lies but two hundred and fifty miles west of Iceland, its discovery and occupation naturally follow the settlement of the latter country. Indeed, as early as 876, or within two years after the settlement of Iceland, a sailor was driven to the coast of Greenland by adverse weather, and passed the winter there; but more than a century elapsed before any attempt was made to colonize it. In *The Saga of Erik the Red*, of which we shall quote all that part bearing directly upon our subject, is shown how the Norsemen first visited America intentionally and for purposes of advantage.

The manuscript containing *The Saga of Erik the Red* was found in a monastery on the island of Flatey, in Iceland. It was beautifully written upon parchment. There is sufficient internal evidence to warrant the belief that it was written between the dates 1387 and 1395. The Sagas which it contained were undoubtedly the work of various hands. That of *Erik the Red*, it is believed from the language and construction, was originally written in the twelfth century. Previous to that time this story, like all the Icelandic Sagas, had been preserved by oral memorizing and repeated before the chieftains and at public festivals by professional sagamen. There is no difficulty, and there can be no reasonable doubt, in identifying Helluland with Newfoundland, Markland with Nova Scotia, and Vinland with New England. Indeed, the description of the coast is so accurate that in the island between which and the ness Erik sailed it is easy to recognize Nantucket.

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Map of the world according to Ptolemy. From the

After the original in the N

Barrie & Sons.

n of Ptolemy's geography, published at Ulm in 1482.
blic Library, Lenox Branch.

CONCERNING ERIK THE RED

A. D. 985

There was a man named Thorvald, a son of Osvald, a son of Ulf-Oxne-Thorerfsson. Thorvald and his son Erik the Red removed from Jaeder to Iceland, in consequence of murder. At that time was Iceland colonized wide around. They lived at Drange on Hornstrand: there died Thorvald. Erik then married Thorhild, the daughter of Jaerunda and Thorbjorg Knarrarbringa, who afterwards married Thorbjorn of Haukadal.

Then went Erik from the north, and lived at Erikstad, near Vatshorn. The son of Erik and Thorhild was called Leif. But after Eyulf Soer's and Rafn the duellist's murder, was Erik banished from Haukadal, and he removed westwards to Breidafjord, and lived at Œxney at Erikstad. He lent Thorgest his seat-posts, and could not get them back again; he then demanded them; upon this arose disputes and frays between him and Thorgest, as is told in Erik's saga. Styr Thorgrimson, Eyulf of Svinoe, and the sons of Brand of Alptafjord, and Thorbjörn Vifilson assisted Erik in this matter; but the sons of Thorgeller and Thorgeir of Hitardal stood by the Thorgestlingers. Erik was declared outlawed by the Thorsnesthing, and he then made ready his ship in Erik's creek; and when he was ready, Styr and the others followed him out past the islands. Erik told them that he intended to go in search of the land, which Ulf Krage's son Gunnbjörn saw, when he was driven out to the westward in the sea, the time when he found the rocks of Gunnbjörn. He said he would come back to his friends if he found the land. Erik sailed out from Snaefellsjökul; he found land, and came in from the sea to the place which he called Midjökul; it is now called Blaserkr. He then went southwards to see whether it was there habitable land. The first winter he was at Eriksey, nearly in the middle of the eastern settlement; the spring

after repaired he to Eriksfjord, and took up there his abode. He removed in summer to the western settlement, and gave to many places names. He was the second winter at Holm in Hrafnsgnipa; but the third summer went he to Iceland, and came with his ship into Breidafjord. He called the land which he had found Greenland, because, quoth he, "people will be attracted thither, if the land has a good name." Erik was in Iceland for the winter, but the summer after went he to colonize the land; he dwelt at Brattahlid in Eriksfjord. Informed people say that the same summer Erik the Red went to colonize Greenland; thirty-five ships sailed from Breidafjord and Borgafjord, but only fourteen arrived; some were driven back, and others were lost. This was fifteen winters before Christianity was established by law in Iceland. "The same season Bishop Frederick, and Thorvald the son of Kodran, departed from Iceland." The following men, who went out with Erik, took land in Greenland: Herjulf took Herjulfsfjord (he lived at Herjulfsness), Ketil Ketilsfjord, Rafn Rafnsfjord, Soelve Soelvedal, Helge Thorbrandsson Alptafjord, Thorbjornglora Siglefjord, Einar Einarsfjord, Hafgrim Hafgrimsfjord and Vatnahverf, Arnlaug Arnlaugsfjord; but some went to the western settlement.

BJARNI SEEKS OUT GREENLAND

A. D. 986

Herjulf was the son of Bard Herjulfson; he was kinsman to the colonist Ingolf. To Herjulf gave Ingolf land between Vog and Reykjaness. Herjulf lived first at Drepstock. His wife was named Thorgerd, and Bjarni was their son, a very hopeful man. He conceived, when yet young, a desire to travel abroad, and soon earned for himself both riches and respect; and he was every second winter abroad, every other at home with his father. Soon

possessed Bjarni his own ship; and the last winter he was in Norway, Herjulf prepared for a voyage to Greenland with Erik. In the ship with Herjulf was a Christian from the Hebrides, who made a hymn respecting the whirlpool, in which was the following verse:

> "O Thou who triest holy men!
> Now guide me on my way;
> Lord of the earth's wide vault, extend
> Thy gracious hand to me."

Herjulf lived at Herjulfsness; he was a very respectable man. Erik the Red lived at Brattahlid; he was the most looked up to, and every one regulated themselves by him. These were Erik's children: Leif, Thorvald, and Thorstein; but his daughter was called Freydis; she was married to a man who was named Thorvard; they lived in Garde, where is now the Bishop's seat; she was very haughty, but Thorvard was narrow-minded; she was married to him chiefly on account of his money. Heathen were the people in Greenland at this time. Bjarni came to Eyrar with his ship the summer of the same year in which his father had sailed away in spring. These tidings appeared serious to Bjarni, and he was unwilling to unload his ship. Then his seamen asked him what he would do; he answered that he intended to continue his custom, and pass the winter with his father: "And I will," said he, "bear for Greenland, if ye will give me your company." All said that they would follow his counsel. Then said Bjarni: "Imprudent will appear our voyage, since none of us has been in the Greenland ocean." However, they put to sea so soon as they were ready, and sailed for three days, until the land was out of sight under the water; but then the fair wind fell, and there arose north winds and fogs, and they knew not where they were; and thus it continued for many days. After that saw they the sun again, and could discover the sky; they now made sail and sailed for that day, before they saw land, and counselled with each other about what land that

could be, and Bjarni said that he thought it could not be Greenland. They asked whether he wished to sail to this land or not. "My advice is," said he, "to sail close to the land;" and so they did, and soon saw that the land was without mountains, and covered with wood, and had small height. Then left they the land on their larboard side, and let the stern turn from the land. Afterwards they sailed two days before they saw another land. They asked if Bjarni thought that this was Greenland, but he said that he as little believed this to be Greenland as the other; "because in Greenland are said to be very high ice-hills." They soon approached the land, and saw that it was a flat land covered with wood. Then the fair wind fell, and the sailors said that it seemed to them most advisable to land there; but Bjarni was unwilling to do so. They pretended that they were in want of both wood and water. "Ye have no want of either of the two," said Bjarni; for this, however, he met with some reproaches from the sailors. He bade them make sail, and so was done; they turned the prow from the land, and, sailing out into the open sea for three days, with a southwest wind, saw then the third land; and this land was high, and covered with mountains and ice-hills. Then asked they whether Bjarni would land there, but he said that he would not: "for to me this land appears little inviting." Therefore did they not lower the sails, but held on along this land, and saw that it was an island; again turned they the stern from the land, and sailed out into the sea with the same fair wind; but the breeze freshened, and Bjarni then told them to shorten sail, and not sail faster than their ship and ship's gear could hold out. They sailed now four days, when they saw the fourth land. Then asked they Bjarni whether he thought that this was Greenland, or not. Bjarni answered: "This is the most like Greenland, according to what I have been told about it, and here will we steer for land." So did they, and landed in the evening under a ness; and there was a boat by the ness, and just here lived Bjarni's father, and from

him has the ness taken its name, and is since called Herjulfsness. Bjarni now repaired to his father's, and gave up seafaring, and was with his father so long as Herjulf lived, and afterwards he dwelt there after his father.

VOYAGE OF LEIF ERIKSON

Here beginneth the Narrative of the Greenlanders.

The next thing now to be related is, that Bjarni Herjulfson went out from Greenland, and visited Erik Jarl, and the Jarl received him well. Bjarni told about his voyages, that he had seen unknown lands, and people thought that he had shown no curiosity, when he had nothing to relate about these countries, and this became somewhat a matter of reproach to him. Bjarni became one of the Jarl's courtiers, and came back to Greenland the summer after. There was now much talk about voyages of discovery. Leif, the son of Erik the Red, of Brattahlid, went to Bjarni Herjulfson, and bought the ship of him, and engaged men for it, so that there were thirty-five men in all. Leif asked his father Erik to be the leader on the voyage; but Erik excused himself, saying that he was now pretty well stricken in years, and could not now, as formerly, hold out all the hardships of the sea. Leif said that still he was the one of the family whom good fortune would soonest attend; and Erik gave in to Leif's request, and rode from home so soon as they were ready; and it was but a short way to the ship. The horse stumbled that Erik rode, and he fell off and bruised his foot. Then said Erik: "It is not ordained that I should discover more countries than that which we now inhabit, and we should make no further attempt in company." Erik went home to Brattahlid; but Leif repaired to the ship, and his comrades with him, thirty-five men. There was a southern on the voyage, who was named Tyrker. Now prepared they their ship, and sailed out into

the sea when they were ready, and then found that land first which Bjarni had found last. There sailed they to the land, and cast anchor, and put off boats, and went ashore, and saw there no grass. Great icebergs were over all up the country; but like a plain of flat stones was all from the sea to the mountains, and it appeared to them that this land had no good qualities. Then said Leif: "We have not done like Bjarni about this land, that we have not been upon it; now will I give the land a name, and call it HELLULAND." Then went they on board, and after that sailed out to sea, and found another land; they sailed again to the land, and cast anchor, then put off boats and went on shore. This land was flat, and covered with wood, and white sands were far around where they went, and the shore was low. Then said Leif: "This land shall be named after its qualities, and called MARKLAND" [woodland]. They then immediately returned to the ship. Now sailed they thence into the open sea with a north-east wind, and were two days at sea before they saw land, and they sailed thither and came to an island which lay to the eastward of the land, and went up there, and looked round them in good weather, and observed that there was dew upon the grass; and it so happened that they touched the dew with their hands, and raised the fingers to the mouth, and they thought that they had never before tasted anything so sweet.

After that they went to the ship, and sailed into a sound, which lay between the island and a ness [promontory], which ran out to the eastward of the land; and then steered westwards past the ness. It was very shallow at ebb tide, and their ship stood up, so that it was far to see from the ship to the water.

But so much did they desire to land, that they did not give themselves time to wait until the water again rose under their ship, but ran at once on shore, at a place where a river flows out of a lake; but so soon as the waters rose up under the ship, then took they boats and rowed to the ship and floated it up to the river, and thence into the lake,

and there cast anchor, and brought up from the ship their skin cots, and made there booths.

After this took they counsel, and formed the resolution of remaining there for the winter, and built there large houses. There was no want of salmon either in the river or in the lake, and larger salmon than they had before seen. The nature of the country was, as they thought, so good, that cattle would not require house-feeding in winter, for there came no frost in winter, and little did the grass wither there. Day and night were more equal than in Greenland or Iceland, for on the shortest day was the sun above the horizon from half-past seven in the forenoon till half-past four in the afternoon.

But when they had done with the house-building, Leif said to his comrades: "Now will I divide our men into two parts, and have the land explored; and the half of the men shall remain at home at the house, while the other half explore the land; but, however, not go further than that they can come home in the evening, and they should not separate." Now they did so for a time, and Leif changed about, so that the one day he went with them, and the other remained at home in the house. Leif was a great and strong man, grave and well favored, therewith sensible and moderate in all things.

LEIF THE LUCKY FOUND FOLK UPON A ROCK IN THE SEA

It happened one evening that a man of the party was missing, and this was Tyrker the German. This took Leif much to heart, for Tyrker had been long with his father and him, and loved Leif much in his childhood. Leif now took his people severely to task, and prepared to seek for Tyrker, and took twelve men with him. But when they had gotten a short way from the house, then came Tyrker towards them, and was joyfully received. Leif soon saw that his foster-father was not in his right

senses. Tyrker had a high forehead and unsteady eyes, was freckled in the face, small and mean in stature, but excellent in all kinds of artifice. Then said Leif to him: "Why wert thou so late, my fosterer, and separated from the party?" He now spoke first, for a long time in German, and rolled his eyes about to different sides, and twisted his mouth; but they did not understand what he said. After a time he spoke Norse. "I have not been much further off, but still have something new to tell of; I found vines and grapes." "But is that true, my fosterer?" quoth Leif. "Surely it is true," replied he, "for I was bred up in a land where there is no want of either vines or grapes." They slept now for the night, but in the morning Leif said to his sailors: "We will now set about two things, in that the one day we gather grapes, and the other day cut vines and fell trees, so from thence will be a loading for my ship;" and that was the counsel taken, and it is said their long-boat was filled with grapes. Now was a cargo cut down for the ship, and when the spring came they got ready and sailed away; and Leif gave the land a name after its qualities, and called it VINLAND.

They sailed now into the open sea, and had a fair wind until they saw Greenland, and the mountains below the jöklers. Then a man put in his word and said to Leif: "Why do you steer so close to the wind?" Leif answered: "I attend to my steering, and something more; and can ye not see anything?" They answered that they could not observe anything extraordinary. "I know not," said Leif, "whether I see a ship or a rock." Now looked they, and said it was a rock. But he saw so much sharper than they, that he perceived there were men upon the rock. "Now let us," said Leif, "hold our wind, so that we come up to them, if they should want our assistance; and the necessity demands that we should help them; and if they should not be kindly disposed, the power is in our hands, and not in theirs." Now sailed they under the rock, and lowered their sails, and cast anchor, and put out another little boat, which they had with them. Then asked Tyrker

who their leader was. He called himself Thorer, and said he was a Northman. "But what is *thy* name?" said he. Leif told his name. "Art thou a son of Erik the Red, of Brattahlid?" quoth he. Leif answered that so it was. "Now will I," said Leif, "take ye all on board my ship, and as much of the goods as the ship can hold." They accepted the offer, and sailed thereupon to Eriksfjord with the cargo; and thence to Brattahlid, where they unloaded the ship. After that, Leif invited Thorer and his wife Gudrid, and three other men to stop with him, and got berths for the other seamen, as well Thorer's as his own, elsewhere. Leif took fifteen men from the rock; he was, after that, called Leif the Lucky. Leif had now earned both riches and respect. The same winter came a heavy sickness among Thorer's people, and carried off as well Thorer himself as many of his men. This winter died also Erik the Red. Now was there much talk about Leif's voyage to Vinland; and Thorvald, his brother, thought that the land had been much too little explored. Then said Leif to Thorvald: "Thou canst go with my ship, brother, if thou wilt, to Vinland; but I wish first that the ship should go and fetch the timber which Thorer had upon the rock;" and so was done.

Leif's experiences naturally gave rise to much discussion in Greenland and prompted more than one effort to explore further the region which he had visited. In 1002, Thorvald Erikson coasted along the shores of a country which he called Kjalarness, but perished during the voyage, as is recorded in the Saga. The most energetic attempt, however, to gain additional knowledge regarding Vinland was made about the year 1007, by Thorfinn Karlsefne, who took with him a small fleet and a considerable band of men. The regions called Helluland, Markland, and Vinland were successively visited, and, as we shall see in the Saga which follows, there is no difficulty in identifying the last-named country, with its "self-sowen fields of wheat" and its abundance of wild grapes, with the fertile shores of Rhode Island.

SAGA OF THORFINN KARLSEFNE

Genealogy of Thorfinn Karlsefne, his Voyage to Greenland, and Marriage with Gudrid, the Widow of Thorstein Erikson.

CONCERNING THORD OF HÖFDA

There was a man named Thord, who lived at Höfda in Höfda strand; he married Fridgerda, daughter of Thorer Hyma, and Fridgerda, daughter of Kjarval, king of the Irish. Thord was the son of Bjarni Byrdufmjör, son of Thorvald Ryg, son of Asleik, son of Bjarni Jarnsid, son of Ragnar Lodbrok. They had a son called Snorri; he married Thorhild Rjúpa, daughter of Thord Gellar; their son was Thord Hesthöfdi. Thord's son was named THORFINN KARLSEFNE; Thorfinn's mother was called Thorum. Thorfinn took to trading voyages, and was thought an able seaman and merchant. One summer Karlsefne fitted out his ship, and purposed a voyage to Greenland. Snorri Thorbrandson, of Alptafjord, went with him, and there were forty men in the ship. There was a man called Bjarni Grimolfson, of Breidafjord; another called Thorhall Gamlason, an Eastfjordish man; they fitted out their ship the same summer for Greenland: there were also forty men in the ship. Karlsefne and the others put to sea with these two ships, so soon as they were ready. Nothing is told about how long they were at sea, but it is to be related that both these ships came to Eriksfjord in the autumn. Erik [Leif] rode to the ship together with several of the inhabitants, and they began to deal in a friendly manner. Both the ships' captains begged Erik to take as much of the goods as he wished; but Erik, on his side, showed them hospitality, and bade the crews of these two ships home, for the winter, to his own house at Brattahlid. This the merchants accepted, and thanked him. Then were their goods removed to Brattahlid; there was no want of large outhouses to keep the goods in, neither plenty of everything that was required: wherefore they

were well satisfied in the winter. But towards Yule Erik began to be silent, and was less cheerful than he used to be. One time turned Karlsefne toward Erik and said: "Hast thou any sorrow, Erik, my friend? people think to see that thou art less cheerful than thou wert wont to be; thou hast entertained us with the greatest splendor, and we are bound to return it to thee with such services as we can command; say now, what troubles thee?" Erik answered: "Ye are friendly and thankful, and I have no fear as concerns our intercourse, that ye will feel the want of attention; but, on the other hand, I fear that when ye come elsewhere it will be said that ye have never passed a worse Yule than that which now approaches, when Erik the Red entertained ye at Brattahlid, in Greenland." "It shall not be so, Yeoman!" said Karlsefne; "we have in our ship both malt and corn; take as much as thou desirest thereof, and make ready a feast as grand as thou wilt!" This Erik accepted; and now preparation was made for the feast of Yule, and this feast was so grand that people thought they had hardly ever seen the like pomp in a poor land. And after Yule, Karlsefne disclosed to Erik that he wished to marry Gudrid, for it seemed to him as if he must have the power in this matter. Erik answered favorably, and said that she must follow her fate, and that he had heard nothing but good of him; and it ended so that Thorfinn married Thurid (Gudrid); and then was the feast extended; and their marriage was celebrated; and this happened at Brattahlid, in the winter.

THE VINLAND VOYAGE

In Brattahlid began people to talk much about that Vinland the Good should be explored, and it was said that a voyage thither would be particularly profitable by reason of the fertility of the land; and it went so far that Karlsefne and Snorri made ready their ship to explore the land in the spring. With them went also the before-named men called Bjarni and Thorhall, with their ship. There was a man

called Thorvard; he married Freydis, a natural daughter of Erik the Red; he went also with them, and Thorvald the son of Erik, and Thorhall who was called the hunter; he had long been with Erik, and served him as huntsman in summer, and steward in winter; he was a large man, and strong, black, and like a giant, silent and foul-mouthed in his speech, and always egged on Erik to the worst: he was a bad Christian: he was well acquainted with uninhabited parts: he was in the ship with Thorvard and Thorvald. They had the ship which Thorbjörn had brought out [from Iceland]. They had in all one hundred and sixty men when they sailed to the western settlement, and from thence to Bjanney. Then sailed they two days to the south; then saw they land, and put off boats, and explored the land, and found there great flat stones, many of which were twelve ells broad: foxes were there. They gave the land a name, and called it HELLULAND. Then sailed they two days, and turned from the south to the south-east, and found a land covered with wood, and many wild beasts upon it: an island lay there out from the land to the south-east; there killed they a bear, and called the place afterwards Bear island, but the land MARKLAND. Thence sailed they far to the southward along the land, and came to a ness; the land lay upon the right; there were long and sandy strands. They rowed to land, and found there upon the ness the keel of a ship, and called the place Kjalarness, and the strands they called Furdustrands, for it was long to sail by them. Then became the land indented with coves; they ran the ship into a cove. King Olaf Tryggvason had given Leif two Scotch people, a man called Haki, and a woman called Hekja; they were swifter than beasts. These people were in the ship with Karlsefne; but when they had sailed past Furdustrands, then set they the Scots on shore, and bade them run to the southward of the land, and explore its qualities, and come back again within three days. They had a sort of clothing which they called kjafal, which was so made that a hat was on the top, and it was open at the sides, and no

arms to it; fastened together between the legs with buttons and clasps, but in other places it was open. They stayed away the appointed time; but when they came back, the one had in the hand a bunch of grapes, and the other, a new-sowen ear of wheat: these went on board the ship, and after that sailed they farther. They sailed into a frith; there lay an island before it, round which there were strong currents, therefore called they it Stream island. There were so many eider ducks on the island, that one could scarcely walk in consequence of the eggs. They called the place Stream frith. They took their cargo from the ship, and prepared to remain there. They had with them all sorts of cattle. The country there was very beautiful. They undertook nothing but to explore the land. They were there for the winter without having provided food beforehand. In the summer the fishing declined, and they were badly off for provisions; then disappeared Thorhall the huntsman. They had previously made prayers to God for food, but it did not come so quick as they thought their necessities required. They searched after Thorhall for three days, and found him on the top of a rock; there he lay, and looked up in the sky, and gaped both with nose and mouth, and murmured something; they asked him why he had gone there; he said it was no business of theirs; they bade him come home with them, and he did so. Soon after came there a whale, and they went thither, and cut it up, and no one knew what sort of whale it was; and when the cook dressed it, then ate they, and all became ill in consequence. Then said Thorhall: "The red-bearded was more helpful than your Christ; this have I got now for my verses that I sung of Thor, my protector; seldom has he deserted me." But when they came to know this, they cast the whole whale into the sea, and resigned their case to God. Then the weather improved, and it was possible to row out fishing; and they were not then in want of provisions, for wild beasts were caught on the land, and fish in the sea, and eggs collected on the island.

OF KARLSEFNE AND THORHALL

So is said that Thorhall would go to the northward along Furdustrands, to explore Vinland, but Karlsefne would go southwards along the coast. Thorhall got ready, out under the island, and there were no more together than nine men; but all the others went with Karlsefne. Now when Thorhall bore water to his ship, and drank, then sung he this song:

"People told me when I came
Hither, all would be so fine;
The good Vinland, known to fame,
Rich in fruits, and choicest wine;
Now the water pail they send;
To the fountain I must bend,
Nor from out this land divine
Have I quaffed one drop of wine."

And when they were ready, and hoisted sail, then chaunted Thorhall:

"Let our trusty band
Haste to Fatherland;
Let our vessel brave
Plough the angry wave,
While those few who love
Vinland, here may rove,
Or, with idle toil,
Fetid whales may boil,
Here on Furdustrand,
Far from Fatherland."

After that, sailed they northwards past Furdustrands and Kjalarness, and would cruise to the westward; then came against them a strong west wind, and they were driven away to Ireland, and were there beaten, and made slaves, according to what the merchants have said.

Now is to be told about Karlsefne, that he went to the southward along the coast, and Snorri and Bjarni, with their people. They sailed a long time, and until they came to a river, which ran out from the land, and through a lake, out into the sea. It was very shallow, and one could not enter

the river without high water. Karlsefne sailed, with his people, into the mouth, and they called the place Hóp. They found there upon the land self-sowen fields of wheat, there where the ground was low, but vines there where it rose somewhat. Every stream there was full of fish. They made holes there where the land commenced, and the waters rose highest; and when the tide fell, there were sacred fish in the holes. There were a great number of all kinds of wild beasts in the woods. They remained there a half month, and amused themselves, and did not perceive anything, [new]: They had their cattle with them. And one morning early, when they looked round, saw they a great many canoes, and poles were swung upon them, and it sounded like the wind in a straw-stack, and the swinging was with the sun. Then said Karlsefne: "What may this denote?" Snorri Thorbrandson answered him: "It may be that this is a sign of peace, so let us take a white shield, and hold it towards them;" and so did they. Upon this the others rowed towards them, and looked with wonder upon those that they met, and went up upon the land. These people were black, and ill-favored, and had coarse hair on the head; they had large eyes and broad cheeks. They remained there for a time, and gazed upon those that they met, and rowed afterwards away to the southward, round the ness.

Karlsefne and his people had made their dwellings above the lake, and some of the houses were near the water, others more distant. Now were they there for the winter; there came no snow, and all their cattle fed themselves on the grass. But when spring approached, saw they one morning early that a number of canoes rowed from the south round the ness; so many, as if the sea were sowen with coal: poles were also swung on each boat. Karlsefne and his people then raised up the shield, and when they came together, they began to barter; and these people would rather have red cloth [than anything else]; for this they had to offer skins and real furs. They would also purchase

swords and spears, but this Karlsefne and Snorri forbade. For an entire fur skin the Skraelings took a piece of red cloth, a span long, and bound it round their heads. Thus went on their traffic for a time; then the cloth began to fall short among Karlsefne and his people, and they cut it asunder into small pieces, which were not wider than the breadth of a finger, and still the Skraelings gave just as much for that as before, and more.

It happened that a bull, which Karlsefne had, ran out from the wood and roared aloud; this frightened the Skraelings, and they rushed to their canoes, and rowed away to the southward, round the coast: after that they were not seen for three entire weeks. But at the end of that time, a great number of Skraelings' ships were seen coming from the south like a rushing torrent; all the poles were turned from the sun, and they all howled very loud. Then took Karlsefne's people a red shield, and held it towards them. The Skraelings jumped out of their ships, and after this went they against each other, and fought. There was a sharp shower of weapons, for the Skraelings had slings. Karlsefne's people saw that they raised up on a pole an enormous large ball, something like a sheep's paunch, and of a blue color; this swung they from the pole over Karlsefne's men, upon the ground, and it made a frightful crash as it fell down. This caused great alarm to Karlsefne and all his people, so that they thought of nothing but running away, and they fell back along the river, for it appeared to them that the Skraelings pressed upon them from all sides; and they did not stop until they came to some rocks, where they made a stout resistance. Freydis came out and saw that Karlsefne's people fell back, and she cried out: "Why do ye run, stout men as ye are, before these miserable wretches, whom I thought ye would knock down like cattle? and if I had weapons, methinks I could fight better than any of ye." They gave no heed to her words. Freydis would go with them, but she was slower, because she was pregnant; however, she followed after them into the

wood. The Skraelings pursued her; she found a dead man before her: it was Thorbrand Snorrason, and there stood a flat stone stuck in his head; the sword lay naked by his side; this took she up, and prepared to defend herself. Then came the Skraelings towards her; she drew out her breasts from under her clothes, and dashed them against the naked sword; by this the Skraelings became frightened, and ran off to their ships, and rowed away. Karlsefne and his people then came up, and praised her courage. Two men fell on Karlsefne's side, but a number of the Skraelings. Karlsefne's band was overmatched, and they now drew home to their dwellings, and bound their wounds; and they thought over what crowd that could have been, which had pressed upon them from the land side, and it now appeared to them that it could scarcely have been real people from the ships, but that these must have been optical illusions. The Skraelings found also a dead man, and an axe lay by him; one of them took up the axe, and cut wood with it, and now one after another did the same, and thought it was an excellent thing, and bit well; after that one took it, and cut at a stone, so that the axe broke, and then thought they it was of no use, because it would not cut stone, and they threw it away.

Karlsefne and his people now thought they saw, that although the land had many good qualities, still would they be always exposed there to the fear of hostilities from the earlier inhabitants. They proposed, therefore, to depart, and return to their own country. They sailed northwards along the coast, and found five Skraelings clothed in skins, sleeping near the sea. They had with them vessels containing animal marrow mixed with blood. Karlsefne's people thought they understood that these men had been banished from the land; they killed them. After that came they to a ness, and many wild beasts were there; and the ness was covered all over with dung, from the beasts which had lain there during the night. Now came they back to Straumfjord, and there was abundance of everything that

they wanted to have. It is some men's say, that Bjarni and Gudrid remained behind, and a hundred men with them, and did not go further; but that Karlsefne and Snorri went southwards, and forty men with them, and were not longer in Hope than barely two months, and the same summer came back. Karlsefne went then with one ship to seek after Thorhall the hunter, but the rest remained behind, and they sailed northwards past Kjalarness, and thence westwards, and the land was upon their larboard hand; there were wild woods over all, as far as they could see, and scarcely any open places. And when they had long sailed, a river fell out of the land from east to west; they put in to the mouth of the river, and lay by its southern bank.

DEATH OF THORVALD, THE SON OF ERIK

It happened one morning that Karlsefne and his people saw, opposite an open place in the wood, a speck which glistened in their sight, and they shouted out towards it, and it was a uniped, which thereupon hurried down to the bank of the river, where they lay. Thorvald Erikson stood at the helm, and the uniped shot an arrow into his bowels. Thorvald drew out the arrow, and said: "It has killed me!—to a fruitful land have we come, but hardly shall we enjoy any benefit from it." Thorvald soon after died of this wound. Upon this the uniped ran away to the northward; Karlsefne and his people went after him, and saw him now and then, and the last time they saw him, he ran out into a bay. Then turned they back, and a man chaunted these verses:

"The people chased
A Uniped
Down to the beach;
But lo! he ran
Straight o'er the sea.
Hear thou, Thorfinn!"

They drew off then, and to the northward, and thought they saw the country of the Unipeds; they would not then

expose their people any longer. They looked upon the mountain range that was at Hope, and that which they now found, as all one, and it also appeared to be equal length from Straumfjord to both places. The third winter were they in Straumfjord. They now became much divided by party feeling, and the women were the cause of it, for those who were unmarried would injure those that were married, and hence arose great disturbance. There was born the first autumn Snorri, Karlsefne's son, and he was three years old when they went away. When they sailed from Vinland, they had a south wind, and came then to Markland, and found there five Skraelings, and one was bearded; two were females, and two boys; they took the boys, but the others escaped, and the Skraelings sank down in the ground. These two boys took they with them; they taught them the language, and they were baptized. They called their mother Vathelldi, and their father Uvaege. They said that two kings ruled over the Skraelings, and that one of them was called Avalldania, but the other Valldidida. They said that no houses were there; people lay in caves or in holes. They said there was a land on the other side, just opposite their country, where people lived who wore white clothes, and carried poles before them, and to these were fastened flags, and they shouted loud; and people think that this was WHITE-MAN'S-LAND, or GREAT IRELAND.

Bjarni Grimolfson was driven with his ship into the Irish ocean, and they came into a worm-sea, and straightway began the ship to sink under them. They had a boat which was smeared with seal oil, for the sea-worms do not attack that: they went into the boat, and then saw that it could not hold them all; then said Bjarni: "Since the boat cannot give room to more than half of our men, it is my counsel that lots should be drawn for those to go in the boat, for it shall not be according to rank." This thought they all so high-minded an offer, that no one would speak against it; they then did so that lots were drawn, and it fell upon Bjarni to go in the boat, and the half of the men with him,

for the boat had not room for more. But when they had gotten into the boat, then said an Icelandic man, who was in the ship, and had come with Bjarni from Iceland: "Dost thou intend, Bjarni, to separate from me here?" Bjarni answered: "So it turns out." Then said the other: "Very different was thy promise to my father, when I went with thee from Iceland, than thus to abandon me, for thou saidst that we should both share the same fate." Bjarni replied: "It shall not be thus; go thou down into the boat, and I will go up into the ship, since I see that thou art so desirous to live." Then went Bjarni up into the ship, but this man down into the boat, and after that continued they their voyage, until they came to Dublin in Ireland, and told there these things; but it is most people's belief that Bjarni and his companions were lost in the worm-sea, for nothing was heard of them since that time.

The Norse discovery of America bore no lasting fruit, for the reason that it was, in every sense, premature. Colonization was not sufficiently encouraged in those far-off days to permit a permanent settlement of Vinland. Gunpowder had not yet come into use, and the Norsemen, far outnumbered by the red men, did not possess the advantage of those implements of modern warfare that later were to stand the Spaniards, the English, and the French in such good stead. Lacking this advantage, it was impossible for the Norsemen to obtain a permanent foothold in the New World. Their ignorance of the astrolabe and the compass was sufficient to prevent that safe and regular navigation which is essential to colonization. Political and economic conditions were not such as to create the pressing need of new highways for the world's commerce, or the immigration of surplus European population. Printing, moreover, had not yet been invented, so that wide publicity could not be given to the discoveries made. All this is well put by Fiske, who declares that "none of the Icelandic accounts of Markland and Vinland betray a consciousness that these countries

belonged to a geographical world outside of Europe. There was not enough geographical knowledge for that. They were simply conceived as remote places beyond Greenland, inhabited by inferior but dangerous people. The accidental finding of such places served neither to solve any great commercial problem nor to gratify and provoke scientific curiosity." It remains for us now only to mention very briefly what have been supposed to be relics of the Northmen in America. The "Writing Rock," found near Taunton River in Massachusetts, was long believed to bear Runic inscriptions made by Thorfinn and his companions. But the assertion made by Washington Irving that these were of Indian origin has come now to be generally accepted. A similar fate has overtaken the tradition which for a long while accepted the "Skeleton in Armor" as evidence of the visit of the vikings to this country; and the "Old Stone Tower" at Newport, Rhode Island, has fared no better. The Skeleton immortalized by Longfellow's poem is almost without doubt that of an Indian. The Stone Tower can no longer boast of a Norse origin, in face of the iconoclastic, but indisputable, theory that it was built to serve the purpose of a windmill by Governor Benedict Arnold in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

These facts, however, do not affect the claim that America was discovered by the Norsemen. This has ample basis in the documents we have quoted. Notwithstanding the fact that exploration went no further and colonization did not succeed, the knowledge of Helluland, Markland, and Vinland the Good did not entirely disappear from the memory of the Norse who remained in Greenland. There are many indications pointing to an intermittent communication that was kept up with this country. The last Norseman to undertake the voyage to America appears to have been Erik Knupsen, who was appointed by Pope Paschall II. "Bishop of Greenland and Vinland *in partibus infidelium*." It was in 1121 that this prelate—who may not inaptly be called the first American bishop of the Roman Catholic

Church—went on a voyage to explore the remote sections of his diocese; but as he was never heard of again, it is naturally supposed that he was lost at sea.

The Greenland colony itself eventually was subjected to the shock of an invasion and perished before the onslaught of the Eskimo. This took place in the fifteenth century. But the ruins of the old cathedral at Gardar, together with numerous other remains, proclaim to this day the early European settlements in that uninviting part of the northern hemisphere.

CHAPTER II

EUROPE AND ASIA BEFORE THE TIME OF COLUMBUS

How largely the idea of Asiatic wealth served as an impelling motive in western exploration cannot be fully comprehended unless the student of history has clearly in mind the fact that until near the beginning of the Reformation Europe had stood with its face in the direction of the Orient. Europeans regarded this ancient and mysterious civilization with mixed feelings of dread, ambition, covetousness, and veneration. Hostility between the East and the West had been coeval with known history and had produced numerous memorable conflicts. Among the best-known facts of ancient history are the struggles between the Greeks and the Persians, the victories of Alexander the Great, and the relentless conflict between Rome and Carthage. This antagonism was continued in the Middle Ages by the Crusades and the endeavor to resist the westward incursions of the Turks and other Asiatic hordes. Hardly less important than the warfare it waged was that commerce which Europe had carried on with the East from the earliest times. It was this intercontinental traffic, throttled by the rise of a robust militant religious sect in Asia, that caused men in all parts of Europe to look for a new and unhindered way by which they might reach the Oriental market. What region of the East was it that so deeply appealed to the commercial interests of Europe? India; but more especially Cathay, or the country now known as China. These lands and also Cipango, or Japan, had from earliest

times been more or less known to the western world. It is important to understand how the imagined fabulous resources of these countries appealed to the cupidity of European nations; unless we appreciate this, we lose sight of a prime factor which operated in the discovery of America.

Cathay represents for Europe rather a chapter in the development of history and geography than a country. This is illustrated by the fact that China, its modern equivalent, was known to the ancient world under two entirely different names. To those reaching its southern coasts by the ocean route it was known as Sin, Chin, Sinae, China; but by those who visited the land by the northern overland route it was called Seres. In the Middle Ages, those who went by this latter way called the country Cathay. Khitai is the name by which the land is still known to the Russians and the natives of Turkestan.—(Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*. Introductory Essay.)

As early as the fifth century, the Arabs had dealings with the Chinese. The Euphrates was at that time navigable as far up as Hira,—southwest of ancient Babylon,—opposite the warehouses of which city were often anchored the trading vessels of both India and China. Indeed, Chinese ships were known to have frequented Aden, as well as the mouths of the Indus and Euphrates, until late in the Middle Ages, thus presenting a state of things in striking contrast with that policy of exclusiveness which has distinguished the Middle Kingdom during the past few centuries. But it was in the days of Mongolian conquest, under the leadership of Jinghis Khan and a succession of renowned members of his house, that Cathay, or China, became most familiar to the nations of western Europe.—(Howarth's *History of the Mongols*, Part I., Chap. iii.) The Khitans were not in reality Chinese, but were of Manchu origin; it was by means of conquest and consolidation of its hitherto autonomous warring communities that northern Asia was thrown open to Europeans as it had not been for ages. This was the accomplishment of Jinghis Khan. The brilliant career

of this ruler during the first quarter of the thirteenth century aroused both the admiration and the fear of the entire West. Invading China from the north, he quickly overran the valley of Yellow River, and after having conquered much of the empire of the Chin he turned his victorious arms against western Asia, which also soon passed under his yoke. Jinghis Khan is one of the men who have immensely influenced history, and even at this late date the traces of his work are still to be found. But greater than any military or political consequences of his achievements were the awakening of thought and the stimulus given to continental intercourse which resulted from this contact between men reared in the neighborhood of the dreary Gobi Desert and those who, for centuries, had slumbered in the undisturbed enjoyment of their civilized occupations along the canals and natural waterways of northern China. This work of conquest, begun by Jinghis Khan, was successfully carried on by Okkodai, his son and heir, who not only overturned the Chinese dynasty, but annexed to the possessions of the Khan all the provinces south of Kiang River. This prepared the way for the renowned Kublai Khan, grandson of Jinghis, who reigned as Great Khan, or supreme lord, of the Mongols from about 1259 to 1294. His possessions included China, Korea, Thibet, Cochin China, a large part of India, as well as the Turkish and Siberian regions from the eastern sea as far as the Dnieper; that is to say, he ruled over nearly the whole of Asia.

It was the barbaric power and unparalleled magnificence of this reign which did so much not only to excite the wonder, but also to whet the curiosity and the ambition of the Middle Ages. The men of the South were especially moved, for they had heard already from Nestorian missionaries, Catholic monks, Armenian merchants, and others, that somewhere out in the East there lay a land whose cities were teeming with inconceivable wealth. But of all the travellers who visited Cathay during the thirteenth century,

when the power of Kublai Khan was at its zenith, the most celebrated was the Venetian adventurer, Marco Polo.

This man has been not inaptly called by some the Herodotus of the Middle Ages, and by others the predecessor of Columbus. Indeed, the name of Marco Polo has for more than six centuries been accepted as that of a genius of discovery and exploration. From his day to that of Columbus the influence of this prince of travellers may be clearly traced. It was he more than anyone else who fired the imagination of the mediæval period with pictures of the glories of Cathay; it was conceptions fostered by his book that eventually inspired Columbus with an unconquerable ambition to reach by a new and direct route the country whose reported wealth excited the cupidity of all Europe. It would be difficult to overemphasize the influence exerted by Marco Polo's descriptions of Cathay and Cipango in the ultimate discovery of America by the Genoese mariner. All the dreams of cities sparkling with unmeasured wealth that lured, like *igni fatui*, the Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese across uncharted seas and trackless wildernesses may be traced back to the career of this Venetian at the court of the Great Khan.

Marco Polo came of a noble Venetian family. Andro Polo, his grandfather, had three sons, Marco, Maffeo, and Nicolo. The two latter appear to have been merchants, an occupation not considered in those days, and in Italy, inconsistent with nobility of birth. In the middle of the thirteenth century, Maffeo and Nicolo Polo, while visiting Constantinople on business, bought a supply of jewelry and crossed over into the realm of the Great Khan. Having disposed of their goods, they prepared to leave the country, but were prevented from so doing by civil war. The brothers then chanced to meet a Tartar nobleman, who persuaded them to visit the emperor's court, which they reached after a year's journey. The Khan not only received them with open hospitality, but in course of time sent them home with a message to the Pope, asking him to send missionaries

to the East. Reaching Venice after an absence of about seventeen years, the Polo brothers found that the wife of Nicolo, shortly after his departure, had given birth to a son, whom she had named Marco. The brothers, having decided to return to the East, took young Marco with them, together with two friars. The Great Khan was so well pleased with the youth that he at once took him under his special care and protection, and for many years showered upon him every possible gift. While in the employ of the Khan, Marco visited all parts of the realm and compiled a vast amount of information regarding Asia. This he preserved in the form of rough notes.—(*Travels of Marco Polo*, edited by Thomas Wright; see Introduction.) After the expiration of a number of years, Marco and his father and uncle began to pine for home and obtained permission of the Khan to go on a visit to Venice. While on their way back to Italy, the Polos visited Ceylon, Java, Cochin China, and other parts of the East, eventually reaching Venice with threadbare garments stuffed with every sort of precious stones. Marco Polo, having been captured and imprisoned by the Genoese, procured his notes taken in the East, dictated them to a fellow prisoner, and the result was a volume which was translated into almost every European language and established Asia in western imagination as the region where fortune could not fail to be achieved.

But dreams of avarice had not been the only motives that directed the attention of the West to the East. To the Crusades civilization owes a vast debt, not only for the manner in which they united Latin Christianity against a common foe, but also by reason of the higher standard of living to which they introduced the West. The material results of the Crusades cannot be too highly estimated. By stimulating a desire for luxuries they helped to increase the commerce of the nascent city republics of Italy. Of this great mediæval movement it may be said that it gave a wider sweep to human interests and aspirations, it introduced into Occidental countries those larger conceptions of the earth

which fostered the spirit of discovery and exploration, it swept away a feudalism which had become effete, it strengthened the hands of the citizen estate, and it developed a municipal and royal power which in course of time became able to initiate schemes for the development of great maritime enterprises.

But for a long while the energy of Europe was expended in resisting the invasion of the Seljuk Turks. Moreover, by the successes of these latter, schemes of colonization were frustrated and commercial intercourse with the East was blocked. Paralyzed for years by this barbarian invasion, European commerce slowly revived as the Teutonic and Roman elements of a moribund civilization were gradually fused into something resembling homogeneity. The civil law, through that series of barbarian codes which so largely supplanted the *Corpus Juris*, helped to promote the growth of ideas regarding the binding force of contracts; while the Church, through its moral training and reinforced by canon law, did much to unite western Europe into a confederation of States whose political and religious ideals were essentially the same. The development of popular interests was marked by the rise of two groups of towns created by the trade which took the place of the commerce of antiquity. The Hansa towns of the North owed their origin to the growth of Teutonic States which had been carved out of old imperial provinces; but the commerce of the East fostered the advancement of a number of Italian communities which in course of time recalled the faded splendors of Athens and Corinth. Of these the most important were Venice and Genoa.

The wealth of Venice originally depended upon its trade in salt and fish—exceedingly important commodities in the Middle Ages, when all the world observed Lent and fast days. But the commerce of the city generalized and expanded rapidly, particularly after the seventh century, when a republican constitution was adopted. The time came when Venetian ships found their way to all the ports

of Europe and Asia. Aided by their advantageous location, the industry of the Venetians early gained control of the imports of the East, which constituted their town the emporium of southern Europe. These same advantages secured for the "Mistress of the Adriatic" the privilege of transporting the Crusaders to the East; this gave her an enormous advantage over Genoa, her most formidable commercial rival. Another consummate stroke of policy resulted in the complete supremacy of Venetian interests throughout the Orient and gave to Venetian shipping the unqualified rule of the seas. Never heartily in sympathy with the Crusades, Constantinople had become jealous of the trading facilities enjoyed by the Venetians on the Black Sea, and toward the end of the eleventh century began to put serious obstacles in the way of their continuation. Incensed at this, the Venetians succeeded in persuading the leaders of the Fourth Crusade to attack Constantinople herself, and that city was captured by them in 1204. Until this time the capital of the Eastern Empire had been the centre of the trade of the Levant, as well as mistress of the great western route to Asia. The situation was now entirely changed, and the commercial supremacy transferred to Venice. It is true, however, that Venice did not long enjoy undisputed sway over her extensive naval domain. The commerce of Constantinople was not to be annihilated at a blow. Amalfi, on the Gulf of Salerno, one of the first communities in Italy to win its independence by overthrowing the ducal power, had for years been sending fleets to Egypt, Syria, and Greece. Pisa also had shared in the Oriental trade until supplanted by Genoa. In those cities were born the great discoverers whose exploits are to claim our attention; and the commercial enterprise and rivalry which have been briefly alluded to provided to a large extent the force which was to send those explorers forth.

Essential also to the present consideration are the great mediæval trade routes which were of such vital importance, not only to the Italian republics, but to the entire

civilized world. These routes, the arteries of material life, must be kept in mind if we are to understand the effect produced by the onward march of Islam. In the Middle Ages the commerce of Europe appears to have been effected by two distinct routes. The first of these was the Mediterranean route, which controlled the products of the East; the other was by way of the Danube, by which came the northern and western traffic. The chief routes to Asia in the thirteenth century numbered three; they were as follows: first in importance was that from India and the west coast of Asia by water past Basra on the Persian Gulf to Bagdad. From the latter city merchants sailed along the Tigris until they reached a point near Seleucia and Antioch, whence they went to the Orontes, then to the coast of the Levant. The second route followed the same course as the one just described until the point of leaving the Tigris, and then proceeded over the highlands of Asia Minor and Armenia to the port of Trebizond on the Black Sea, where Venetian vessels met those of Asia. In those days, Bagdad was an important centre for both these routes; and to it were sent, not only the exports of Persia and Arabia, but also those from Egypt and furthest India. The third great mediæval route between Europe and the East was from India to Aden, by water, thence up the Red Sea to some convenient landing place. Here the cargo was unloaded and transported overland to the Nile, thence by river as far as Cairo. From here it was shipped by canal to Alexandria, whence Venetian and Genoese fleets were ready to carry it to the West. By these three routes Europe in the Middle Ages obtained its supplies of spices, perfume, sugar, gum, cotton, silk, precious stones, and the numerous other luxuries of tropical lands.—(Gibbin's *History of Commerce in Europe.*)

But there arose in the East a power destined to seize in turn the key to each of these routes and eventually to occupy Constantinople itself. The Turks began to be heard of in the sixth century of the Christian era. From being at first despised slaves of the Khan of Geougen, they

in course of time, under bold leadership, rose to an important position through conquest in Asia. Devout Mohammedans, the Turks in the middle of the thirteenth century gave birth to a new sect of their faith and race, known to history as the Ottoman. These fanatical disciples of the Koran swept with drawn scimitars through the Asiatic continent, and, under leaders like Mohammed and Amurath II., continued their triumphant march through a large portion of the East, cutting off the trade hitherto carried on by Christian countries. In 1453, the Turks captured Constantinople and thereby possessed themselves of the portal through which passed the bulk of the Oriental traffic. Under Mohammed II., the Ottoman Empire was firmly established in the south; and as the realm of these enemies of Christianity enlarged, European merchants visited Asia with less and less frequency. What Eastern commerce there was passed through the grasping hands of the new rulers of Constantinople.

This aggrandizement of the Ottoman power was destined to give a decisive turn to the course of history, by compelling Europe to find new expedients to meet the demands of her own subsistence. Liberal sects of the Mohammedan faith, like the Saracens and the Moors, had not only promoted intercourse between the two continents, but had successfully fostered the arts and sciences. But the Ottoman Turk was another sort of being. Ignorant, brutal, avaricious, in stretching his dominion across the Byzantine Empire, he strangled simultaneously its material progress and its intellectual life. There arose in Europe an immediate and universal desire to discover some all-water route to the East, by which merchants could come and go without molestation. This situation thrust into prominence the geographical knowledge of antiquity, now made accessible—a good resulting from evil—through the influence of Greek scholars fleeing from Constantinople to the Italian cities. Men began to turn to Ptolemy, Seneca, Strabo, Aristotle, and Plato; and not only was their intellectual vigor

benefited thereby, but in those old philosophers they found intimations of that knowledge which their material position was beginning to demand. Also, the accounts of the travels of Marco Polo acquired a new importance. Is the earth flat or round? What is the relative proportion of land and water? Can India be reached by some all-water route by sailing either in an easterly or a westerly direction? Is it possible to sail to Cathay or Cipango and there find the supply of those luxuries of which there is growing in Europe a conscious demand? These were the questions which began peremptorily to require practical answers.

The rapid development of Europe after the thirteenth century, following its intercourse with Oriental countries, brought about by the Crusades, with the consequent expansion of commerce, the growth of national solidarity under the concentrating power of the monarchical institution fast supplanting the old feudalism, the revival of classical learning, the invention of printing, with the resulting increase and spread of knowledge, all contributed to quicken the mind and imagination of European peoples to seek new fields of speculation and action. But without better guiding appliances exploration could go no further. Magnetic polarity had long been known among the people of the Orient, but its use was not applied to the guidance of mariners until the fourteenth century. The reason for this is illustrated in a letter written by Dante's tutor, Brunetto Latini, to Guido Cavalcanti, of Florence, in the year 1258. Describing a visit which he paid to Roger Bacon, the philosophic monk at Oxford, among other things he says:

"The Parliament being summoned to assemble at Oxford, I did not fail to see Friar Bacon as soon as I arrived, and (among other things) he showed me a black ugly stone, called a magnet, which has the surprising property of drawing iron to it; and upon which, if a needle be rubbed, and afterwards fastened to a straw, so that it shall swim upon water, the needle will instantly turn toward the pole-star;

therefore, be the night ever so dark, so that neither moon nor star be visible, yet shall the mariner be able, by the help of the needle, to steer his vessel right.

"This discovery, which appears useful in so great a degree to all who travel by sea, must remain concealed until other times, because no master-mariner dares to use it lest he should fall under a supposition of his being a magician; nor would even the sailors venture themselves out to sea under his command if he took with him an instrument which carries so great an appearance of being constructed under the influence of some infernal spirit. A time may come when these prejudices, which are of such great hindrance to researches into the secrets of nature, will probably be no more; and then it will be that mankind shall reap the benefit of the labors of such learned men as Friar Bacon, and do justice to that industry and intelligence for which he and they now meet with no other return than obloquy and reproach."

From the beginning of the fourteenth century, the mariner's compass, having first come into use at Amalfi, gradually spread until it became a recognized necessity among seamen. The instrument known as the astrolabe, by which altitudes could be taken, also received the attention of scientists, until it reached perfection under the hands of Martin Behaim in 1484. Now for the first time sailors were enabled with confidence to leave the shore and landward marks and navigate the broad seas by the aid of these instruments.

Of the many great names belonging to this fruitful period in the history of exploration, few stand out more conspicuously than that scion of Portuguese royalty who is known to the world as Prince Henry the Navigator. This ardent student of the physical world inherited no little of the dash, courage, and energy of the Plantagenets through his mother Philippa, who was the daughter of John of Gaunt. Born in 1394, Prince Henry spent the greater part of his

life in promoting enterprises of discovery; and when he died, in 1460, he had very materially advanced the practical knowledge of the human race. His first experience in the active life of manhood had been gained in those contests which were waged for so many years by Spain and Portugal with the Moors. While on an expedition to the north coast of Africa in the prosecution of this war, the fact that the continent extended southward was first brought to his attention. Portugal, having rid herself of the Moors, and also of the pirates who had long infested her coasts, was now at liberty to seek a direction for national expansion. In common with the rest of Europe, the Portuguese suffered from the throttling of intercontinental traffic by the Ottoman power. They had been largely dependent on the exterminated Moors for their luxuries. This supply now having been destroyed, and the rising power of Castile presenting a barrier between it and the rest of Europe, Portugal was compelled to look across the seas for possibilities of enrichment and expansion.

In the desire to find out what he could about Africa, in 1418 Prince Henry took up his residence on the promontory of Sagres. There he remained in the pursuance of his investigations until the day of his death. Like other geographical students of his time, Prince Henry believed that the water route to India was to be found by sailing down the west African coast, until an opening was found by which the easterly turn could be made. Consequently, the first work required was the exploration of the whole of the west coast of Africa. In order to prosecute his geographical and mathematical researches, Prince Henry established a school at Sagres for the teaching of map drawing and navigation. To this institution he drew men of learning and skilful mariners from all parts of Europe. Opportunely for his purpose, the order of the Templars, which had been driven out of the other countries of Europe, sought and found protection in the Catalonian Peninsula. The prince became Grand Master of the order, and changed its name

to the Order of Christ. He applied its funds to defraying the cost of his enterprises and expeditions, justifying this course by the belief, or at least the assertion, that he was thereby spreading the Christian religion. When the prince first began to send his ships down the African coast, the furthest point that had been sighted in a southerly direction was Cape Bojador. The discovery of the extreme southern part of Africa was looked upon in those days, says Markham, exactly as the discovery of the North Pole is now. "Fools asked what was the use of it. Half-hearted men said it was impossible. Officials said it was impractical. Nevertheless, Prince Henry said that it could be done, and moreover that it should be done." It was this zeal, devotion, and determination which resulted in founding the Portuguese power in the East Indies and in Africa. Moreover, it had no little effect on the discovery of America, for the example of Prince Henry and the success of Portugal were influential in stimulating Columbus to make his attempt and in persuading the sovereigns of Spain to support his endeavor.

The motto of Prince Henry was "Le Talent de Bien Faire"—the desire to do good. His life was true to this maxim, for his aspiration was always greater than his achievements. He did not live to realize his hope of the circumnavigation of Africa. But it was under his direction and as a result of his endeavor that the Canaries, the Azores, Porto Santo, Madeira, and Cape Verd Islands were made known to fifteenth century Europe. It is true that some of these discoveries had been anticipated by Italian sailors during the preceding century, but knowledge of this fact had not been treasured. Prince Henry probably also made use of the story of Robert Machim, the young Englishman who had accidentally found his way to Madeira and the western coast of Africa, during the reign of Edward III.—(Major's *Life of Prince Henry, the Navigator*, 69.)

The rounding of Cape Bojador, on the northwestern coast of Africa, was the work which so long baffled the

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endeavors of the prince. Sailors had always believed that Cape de Nao, in north latitude 28°–45°, was the utmost limit of safe navigation. After years of experiment, and all manner of liberal promises on the part of Henry, they would return to Sagres with the same discouraging tidings that they had been unable to pass this stormy point. Persevering, notwithstanding these many disappointments, the prince at last found the right man in Gil Eannes, who, with a larger vessel than usual, propelled both by oars and sails, rounded Cape Bojador in 1436 and anchored fifty leagues below it. In bidding farewell to this mariner about to set forth on his daring voyage, the prince is reported to have said: "You cannot incur such peril that the promised reward shall not be commensurate therewith. It is very strange to me that you should be governed by a fear of something of which you are ignorant, for if the things reported had any authentication, I should not find fault with you for believing them. The stories of the four seamen driven out of their course to Flanders or to the ports to which they were sailing are not to be credited, for they had not and could not have used the needle and the chart. But do you go notwithstanding, and make your voyage without being influenced by their opinions, and, by the grace of God, you will not fail to secure, by your enterprise, both honor and compensation." The success of Gil Eannes made an epoch in the history of both navigation and discovery; it silenced for all time the popular superstition, based on the old Zone theory of the ancients, that it was impossible to sail very far southward without encountering those seas of boiling water which were believed to form in the Torrid Zone the counterpart of the frozen oceans of the North and South.

The way to India now seemed likely to be found, unless, as some asserted, the Atlantic and Indian Oceans should turn out to be inland seas. Interrupted for a while by political troubles at home, Prince Henry resumed his nautical labors in 1441, and prosecuted them with unremitting energy until his death. It is of interest to note that in 1442

one of his ships returned with a cargo of captured negroes, and thus was first introduced into Europe that system of African slavery which was afterward to gain such an enduring hold in the New World. It is undoubtedly true that the character of Prince Henry has been considerably idealized by historians. There is no need to minimize his persevering devotion to projects of discovery, or the reputed success attending his efforts. But it is very rare that the desire for profit has not entered largely into the motives prompting such enterprises; and this Portuguese prince was not an exception to the rule. He had heard from the Moors of the African coast that gold dust and slaves might be obtained in abundance on the coast south of Cape Bojador. His vessels, when they returned without having pressed their investigations so far as he had hoped, did not come with empty hulls. While exploration may have been the primary charge in their commission, they were licensed to take slaves where and how they might find them, and the prince reserved to himself a fifth part of the result. On one occasion, six caravels brought back from the Garzas Islands two hundred and sixteen persons who were doomed to slavery. Of these Henry received forty-six. He recorded his pleasure on this occasion, ascribing it to the fact that these slaves had been saved from everlasting perdition. It was deemed a mercy to kidnap negroes on the African coast, who otherwise were doomed to eternal punishment as heathens.

Prince Henry's death in 1460 naturally checked for a time the work of discovery along the west African coast, for he had no successor who, like himself, was willing to throw into this labor all the enthusiasm and activity of a strong mind consecrated to a single end. Nor was there another like himself who could inspire his agents with the invincible courage and resolution which dominated his own personality, But that such an influence could perish was impossible, and the cause of discovery quickly recovered from the momentary check given it by his death. Between 1471 and 1482,

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Portuguese sailors not only touched the Guinea and Gold coasts, but in the latter year Diogo Cao discovered the mouth of Zair, or Congo River. In 1486, Bartholomeu Diaz unconsciously sailed around Cape of Good Hope. Another Portuguese, four years later, went to Abyssinia. Finally, in 1498 Vasco da Gama proved the correctness of Prince Henry's conviction by boldly doubling Cape of Good Hope and landing on the coast of Malabar. Through the success incident to these efforts to find an all-water route to the East, the western cities of the Iberian peninsula, particularly Lisbon, acquired an immense ascendency in the world of commerce. Men of every rank and vocation were attracted thither, and among them, as we shall see, was Christopher Columbus. The cosmopolitan and progressive character of this great city must have tended to broaden the view and sharpen the ambition of all who came within its influence. Says Emilio Castelar: "So many foreigners dwelt in Lisbon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that its chronicler calls it a vast city of many and widely diverse inhabitants. It differed from Venice, where three elements predominated—the Greek, the Slav, and the Latin. It must rather have been like such modern cities as Buenos Ayres, New York, and many other cities of America, peopled by immigrants from the four quarters of the globe. . . . The world was growing broader under the influence of Lisbon, and the mind of man was expanding under the influence of a widened sky and earth, while, beyond doubt, ancient interests and beliefs were dwindling in proportion to the world's advance and the growth of human intellect."

Though he may not have been moved by so unmixed a love of science as is taken for granted by the early historians, it was to Prince Henry that Portugal was indebted for the laying of the foundations of an intellectual and material influence which meant a tremendous advance for the interests of that country. This ambition to explore and dominate Africa, largely instigated as it was by the desire for the profits resulting from the slave trade, caused the numerous

voyages of discovery to start from the ports of the Iberian peninsula rather than from Venice and Genoa. Thus the star of commercial empire waned on the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, and its brilliance was by the ports of those seas never again recovered. Lisbon was for a time to occupy the chief position in the history of European progress, because its merchants were the most enthusiastic in pushing the work of exploration, and its port the most convenient from which voyages might be sent forth in search of the undiscovered lands bordering the Atlantic. Nevertheless, holding in view the future developments of this history, we must be careful to note that in nearly all cases the men who commanded the Portuguese ships were Italians who had gained their experience in the service of the Italian republics. Among those who flocked to Lisbon and presented in themselves the practical sea knowledge and the hardihood demanded by exploits of discovery were many Venetians and Genoese. If Columbus had been enabled to consummate his great undertaking at the time he first conceived it, it is Portugal and not Spain that would have reaped the benefit.

It remains for us now, in the consideration of our present topic, to summarize briefly the advancement made in the direction of American discovery, previous to the year 1492, by means of European endeavor to reach by sea the shores of Asia. In the first place, the aggrandizement of Portugal, by means of her maritime enterprises, aroused the emulation of the rulers of other European countries and rendered them willing to seek profit in a similar manner. The Pope of Rome had given to Portugal a nominal title to the coast of Africa as far as to the confines of India. Thus this immense field, with all its sources of wealth, was preëmpted; and it was this fact that largely induced Columbus—who did not dispute the possibility of reaching India by sailing round the coast of Africa—to endeavor to attain those golden strands by a shorter route. Portuguese exploration on the west coast of Africa provided an extremely

efficient school of navigation. The men who had braved the dangers, imaginary and real, which were anticipated beyond Cape Bojador and met with in the Bay of Benim and off Sierra Leone, were trained in experience and in hardihood to face whatever might be encountered on the broad expanse of the Atlantic. But more important than all else was the geographical knowledge gained in those southern voyages. According to the cosmography of the ancients, the southern limit of Africa extended no further than the equator. So long as this notion dominated the minds of seamen, there was no need for seeking to reach India by a westerly all-sea route. The African course was shorter; but when Portuguese exploration indicated the immense southward stretch of the African continent, Columbus determined that a transatlantic voyage was worth while. Also, the great distance to which the Portuguese succeeded in pushing to the south caused navigators to revive the belief in the possibility of circumnavigating the globe. The old superstitions which hitherto had frightened men from making this trial were discredited. They went far to the south and yet did not find the heat unendurable, nor did they come to a region belonging to another world where goblins and monsters took the place of human beings. And they were able to return, and thus disprove the idea that, the earth being round, the necessity of climbing up hill would prevent a vessel that had reached the under side of the earth from getting back. Finally, seamen voyaging among the Canaries and the Azores must have noticed the constancy and the resulting advantage of the trade winds. Columbus, like other navigators of his time, became acquainted with the fact that a northeasterly wind prevailed in the equatorial Atlantic, and the advantage of this was not by him forgotten in his calculation of the possibilities of a western voyage to the Indies.

CHAPTER III

THE DISCOVERER ADVOCATING HIS PROJECT

No event in history stands isolated and alone. The idea of the sphericity of the earth did not come to Columbus by a flash of untraceable inspiration. A belief in the possibility of reaching the Indies by way of the west was developed by him from the conclusions of other reasoners. That Columbus had forerunners in his theories does not diminish the magnitude of his achievement, any more than does the fact that mariners had accidentally reached the American coast previous to his time. What he did was the result of logical thought pursued by a mind undeterred by the opposition of the universal negative, and of a definite purpose in which a mighty will overcame all obstacles.

There has been much controversy among students and historians concerning both the year and the place of the birth of Christopher Columbus. Various dates from 1430 to 1456 have been assigned to this event. Washington Irving, the biographer of Columbus most popular among Americans, accepts 1435 as the precise year. In this he has the weighty support of Navarrete, a writer whose authority the student is predisposed to accept. The principal evidence on which we may found a conclusion contrary to that of Navarrete and Irving is to be found in a letter written by Columbus to the Spanish sovereigns, in 1501. In this he says: "Most serene Princes, at a very tender age I began sailing on the sea and I have continued there until

to-day: and the self-same calling inclines those who follow it to learn the secrets of this world: and now, having passed forty years, which I spent in all those places to which navigations are made at the present time. . . ." Ferdinand Columbus, in his history, quoting his father's words, writes: "I commenced to navigate at fourteen years and I have always followed the sea." This determines what was that "very tender age" at which Columbus began his seafaring life. Calculating from these dates and connecting with them the fact that he was sixty years of age on May 20, 1506, the conclusion is that Christopher Columbus was born in the year 1446. There are as many claims made by various places for the glory of having been the scene of his birth as there are different dates suggested of that event. But the weight of evidence points to Genoa with preponderative certainty. Antonio Gallo, a citizen of Genoa, was contemporary with Columbus, and wrote an account of his expedition. This he began with the following words: "Christopher and Bartholomew Columbus, brothers, of the Ligurian nation, sprung from plebeian parentage, and supporting themselves by the wages of wool-working (the father being a weaver and the sons were at times carders), about this time acquired great fame throughout all Europe by a deed of the greatest daring and remarkable novelty in human affairs. Although these had but small learning in their youth, when they were come of age they gave themselves to navigation after the manner of their race." Another citizen of Genoa, named Senarega, writing at the same time on the affairs of his native city, also gives an account of the first expedition. He says the brothers "sprung from plebeian parentage in Genoa." In the *Polyglot Psalter* published at Genoa in 1516, Agostino Giustiniano, a bishop of Corsica, commenting on the sentence "and their words have gone abroad to the ends of the earth," in the Nineteenth Psalm, gives an account of the finding of a new world by Christopher Columbus. He therein declared how the admiral believed himself to be selected by God in order that this prophecy might be

fulfilled. He also supported the testimony of the foregoing authorities whom we have quoted to the effect that Columbus was a Genoese of common parentage. Ferdinand, the son of Christopher Columbus, took great umbrage at this belittling of his paternal ancestry. In the beginning of his history, he states how he is incited by others to prove that his father had descended from illustrious blood; but that his immediate predecessors had come to poverty through bad fortune; that, indeed, he might trace his pedigree back to a Colone mentioned by Tacitus. But although he mentions other Colombi who had in recent years gained for themselves great renown for their exploits on the sea, he brings no trustworthy evidence to refute the testimony of the authorities whom we have quoted.

In the endeavor to trace the events of the youth of Columbus, we again encounter conflicting reports. Ferdinand, in whom filial regard and personal vanity combine to form a desire to eulogize his father in every possible way, writes as follows: "I assert, therefore, that in his youth he was instructed in letters and studied in Pavia enough to understand cosmography, in the teachings of which science he took great delight; and on account of which he also studied astrology and geometry, as these sciences are so related to each other that one cannot be understood apart from the other; and also because Ptolemy, in the beginning of his cosmography, says that one cannot be a good cosmographer if he is not also a good painter" [of charts]. But if the admiral followed the sea from the time that he was fourteen years of age, and previous to that assisted his father in wool carding, his course of instruction in the University of Pavia must have been a very brief one. In fact, apart from the assertion of Ferdinand, there is absolutely no evidence of his having studied there at all. The knowledge he acquired was the result of those investigations into the writings of learned men, ancient and modern, which he followed throughout his life, combined with the results of that habit of keen observation which was natural to him. He

was an enthusiast in his profession and did not fail to avail himself of every, even most remotely collateral, avenue of learning by which he might be enabled to attain its highest possible achievements. In the letter which he wrote to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella in 1501, he also says: "I have dealt and talked with learned people, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, Latins, Greeks, Indians, Moors, and many other people of different nations, and our Lord has favored this inclination, and I have received from him the spirit of understanding. He has made me very skilful in navigation, and to know much in astronomy, in geometry, and mathematics. God has given me the knowledge and ability to portray the globe, and also to delineate cities, rivers, islands, and ports in their proper situation. During my life I have examined and endeavored to see all books of cosmography, history, and philosophy, and of the other sciences, so that our Lord has sensibly opened my mind in order that I may sail from here to the Indies, and has made me extremely anxious to do it."

There is little, indeed, that we know certainly of Columbus's early life. Ferdinand gives us detailed accounts of adventurous exploits in which his father played a prominent part; but, unfortunately, the researches of modern historians have with fatal unanimity shown that these accounts are inconsistent with known facts. Such, for instance, is the story of the discoverer's connection with the famous corsair known as Columbus the Younger, and the fight with the Venetian galleys off Cape St. Vincent. A family relationship is claimed between Christopher Columbus and Columbus the Younger. But research has shown the latter to have been not a Genoese at all, but a French subject. Also, instead of this adventure being the means of introducing Columbus to Lisbon in 1485, as Ferdinand states, at the date in question he was on the point of leaving Portugal to advocate his theory in Spain. In a letter written to their Catholic majesties, in 1495, he says: "It happened to me that King René (whom God has taken to himself)

sent me to Tunis to capture the galley Fernandina, and on arriving at the island of San Pedro, in Sardinia, I learned that there were two ships and a caracca with the galley, which so alarmed the crew that they resolved to proceed no further, but to return to Marseilles for another vessel and more people; upon which, being unable to force their inclination, I yielded to their wish, and having first changed the points of the compass, spread all sail, for it was evening, and at daybreak we were within the Cape of Carthagena, while all believed for a certainty that they were going to Marseilles." Some recent writers, by impugning the veracity of his son, by whom the letter is quoted, even deny the admiral the glory of this exploit. But the character of the action naturally disposes us to accept its credibility. The determination shown and the stratagem employed to overcome the unwillingness of the sailors are extremely illustrative of the unswerving will exhibited and the methods resorted to in the first voyage of discovery. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that there is no little difficulty in reconciling what seems to be the latest date at which this occurrence could have taken place with the age of Columbus, providing the year which we have accepted as that of his birth be correct.

It was probably about the year 1471 that Columbus went to Portugal; and we may attribute to his visit thither the awakening of his determination to surpass all other mariners in the work of terrestrial discovery. He claims to have endeavored, but without success, to gain the ear of the King of Portugal to his project. Las Casas quotes a letter from Columbus to the sovereigns of Spain, written in 1505, in which he says: "God, our Lord, miraculously sent me hither that I might be of service to your Highnesses. I say miraculously, because I took refuge in Portugal, where the King of that Country had a better appreciation of discovery than any other: He put to shame his sight, hearing, and all his faculties, for during fourteen years I could not make him understand what I said."

Soon after his arrival in Lisbon, Columbus married Philippa Moniz, the daughter of Pedro Moniz Prestrello. The latter being dead, the newly married couple took up their residence with the bride's mother on the island of Porto Santo. Ferdinand says that the widow put into the hands of Columbus many valuable documents and sea charts which had been left by her husband. However this may have been, it is more than probable that Columbus spent the first part of his sojourn in Portugal in developing his scheme for reaching the Indies, and the latter part in the fruitless endeavor to enlist the assistance of the king. Perhaps the inception of his idea originated in the practical observations which he made while at Madeira. Ferdinand Columbus says: "He learned, also, from many pilots, experienced in the western voyages to the Azores and the island of Madeira, facts and signs which convinced him that there was an unknown land towards the west. Martin Vicente, pilot of the King of Portugal, told him that at a distance of four hundred and fifty leagues from Cape St. Vincent, he had taken from the water a piece of wood sculptured very artistically, but not with an iron instrument. This wood had been driven across by the west wind, which made the sailors believe that certainly there were on that side some islands not yet discovered. Pedro Correa, the brother-in-law of Columbus, told him, that near the island of Madeira he had found a similar piece of sculptured wood coming from the same direction. He also said that the King of Portugal had received information of large canes having been taken up from the water in these parts, which between one knot and another would hold nine bottles of wine; and Herrera declares that the King had preserved these canes and caused them to be shown to Columbus. The colonists of the Azores related, that when the wind blew from the west, the sea threw up, especially in the islands of Graciosa and Fayal, pines of a foreign species. Others related, that in the island of Flores they found one day on the shore two corpses of men, whose physiognomy and features differed entirely from those of our coast."

Columbus did not content himself with drawing inferences solely from this débris which the wind and the ocean currents had evidently wafted in from the western seas. He consulted philosophical authorities for the data on which he might form his own geographical conclusions. He knew of the existence of India and Cathay. It was a matter of common report that Portuguese vessels were endeavoring to reach those rich and populous lands by a South African route. The results of these voyages as yet were not such as to encourage hopefulness in regard to the final result. Was there no other way? The determination of this question was the task to which the Genoese mariner set himself. He studied and pondered over every geographical work that came his way, until he had formed the mental habit of seizing upon and piecing together every word and theory and fact which to any degree favored the suggestion of the possibility of reaching the East by way of the West. His *vade mecum* was the *Imago Mundi* of Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly. The copy which belonged to him, and is now preserved in the Cathedral of Seville, has many marginal notes in Columbus's own handwriting, testifying how thoroughly its contents were digested by the future discoverer. This work abounds with quotations from Aristotle and Strabo, expressing the opinion of those ancient philosophers regarding what discoveries might be made were western navigation possible of accomplishment. The curtailment of his early opportunities for the acquirement of classical learning, and the restriction which a busy life must have placed upon his reading in the ancient tongues, even if he had acquired them, lead us to surmise that he owed to D'Ailly's quotations nearly all that he knew of the ancient authors.

It is an interesting question, but one that it is impossible to determine certainly, whether or not Columbus knew of the voyages of the Norsemen to the western continent. In a letter quoted by his son, he says that in the year 1477 "he sailed a hundred leagues beyond the island of Thule,

the southern part of which is distant from the equinoctial line seventy-three degrees and not sixty-three, as some assert; neither does it lie within the line which includes the west of Ptolemy, but is much more westerly. To this island, which is as large as England, the English, especially those from Bristol, go with their merchandise. At the time that I was there the sea was not frozen, but the tides were so great as to rise and fall twenty-six fathoms. It is true that the Thule of which Ptolemy makes mention lies where he says it does, and by the moderns it is called Frislanda." This may have been the Faroe Islands, but in all probability it was Iceland. In any case, Columbus nowhere makes mention of learning anything there that materially assisted him in forming his conclusions concerning the westward passage to Cathay.

One of the principal arguments by which it is said that Columbus convinced himself of the possibility of reaching India by a transatlantic voyage was that the greater part of the earth's surface had already been traversed, leaving only that portion lying between the eastern limits reached by Marinus and the Azores to be explored. This, he concluded, could not be more than a third of the whole circumference of the globe. He based this calculation on the opinion of Alfraganius, an Arabian astronomer, who lived in the ninth century, and who allowed only fifty-six and two-thirds of a mile to a degree of the earth's circumference. Thus Columbus was led to suppose that a few days' sailing would bring him to those shores of Asia which, as he believed, were washed by the Atlantic. He also anticipated, on the authority of the philosophers who asserted that the greater part of the earth's surface was land, that he would encounter islands where he might rest and recuperate while making for the Asiatic continent. For instance, there was the island of Antilia or that of the Seven Cities, the existence of which on the bosom of the Atlantic had long been a current belief.

We will now turn to the examination of the more immediate influences by which, as it is alleged, the mind

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Prince Henry of Portugal, surnamed "The Navigator." After the miniature in the *Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea* by Gomes Eames de Azurara, begun in 1448 and completed in 1453. *Now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*

of Columbus was prepared for the undertaking of his momentous voyage. First, there is that troublesome story of the pilot, which some historians dismiss with scanty words of indifference, but which is worthy of careful consideration. Francisco Lopez de Gomara, in his *Historia general de las Indias*, published in 1553, repeats the narrative thus:

"A caravel navigating on our Ocean Sea was overtaken by such a powerful and continuous east wind that it was driven upon a land which is not known or placed on the map or chart of the navigator. In returning from that land it took a much greater time than was consumed in going thither. And when it arrived here it brought only the Pilot and three or four other mariners, who were so sick from hunger and toil that they died in the Port within a short time. And this is how the Indies were discovered through the misfortune of those who first saw them, as their lives were ended without enjoying the benefits of the discovery and without leaving, at least without possessing, a memorial as to what they were called, where they were or in what year they were found. However, it was not through any fault of theirs, but through the malice of others, or the invidiousness of what is called fortune. And I do not marvel at the ancient historians, who narrate very great deeds from little ones, or from obscure beginnings, since we do not know who so short a time ago found the Indies, which is such a novel and remarkable thing. The name of this Pilot has not even been preserved to us, since all perished who were with him. Some have it that the Pilot was an Andalusian, who was trafficking in the Canaries and in the Madeiras when that long and fatal voyage happened to him. Others consider that he was a Biscayan, who traded in England and France; and others a Portuguese who was going or coming from Mina or India. The latter agrees very well with the name which those new lands took and now bear. Also some say that the caravel took shelter in Portugal, while others consider that it was in the Madeiras

or some other island of the Azores. But no one affirms anything. Only all agree in the fact that this Pilot died in the house of Christopher Columbus. In his possession remained the papers belonging to the caravel and the relation of all that long voyage, and the description and altitude of the lands newly seen and discovered."

The first mention of this story is by Oviedo in his work published in 1535. This historian ends the account with a flat refusal to believe it. Herrera, one of the most trustworthy of the early historians, makes no mention of the tale whatever. Girolamo Benzoni repeats Gomara's story, but calls attention to the very patent fact that the latter mingled falsehood and truth with striking indifference. Garcilasso de la Vega, a Peruvian, repeats the legend at greater length and with more details. He gives the name of the pilot as Alonso Sanchez de Huelva, and declares that the land to which he was driven was none other than the island of Hispaniola. La Vega's account, written as it was after a lapse of one hundred and twenty-five years, does not in itself warrant any considerable attention in an investigation of the truth of this legend. Nevertheless, the fact that Las Casas repeats the story is evidence that it was in circulation at his time.

Henry Vignaud, in a work designed to show that the Toscanelli letters, which we shall shortly consider, were forgeries, founds this assumption on what he believes to be the probable truth of the pilot story.—(Vignaud's *Toscanelli and Columbus*, 133.) But there does not seem to be any reason for concluding that either the legend or the letters are the result of fabrication. It was no uncommon thing in those days for a caravel to be driven far out of its course. It was as little uncommon for the pilot of such a vessel to see or to imagine that he saw lands or islands hitherto uncharted. Columbus was in the habit of collecting and giving weight to all such indications of what he believed to be the fact regarding the western seas. And even if we accept the

statement that he met with or entertained a pilot who could materially strengthen his theory, this does not diminish the achievement of Columbus, nor does it prove that his geographical conclusions were not reached by his scientific study. That he did not use the pilot narrative as an effective means of convincing the sovereigns to whom he applied for support at a time when he was in such dire need of convincing argument strongly favors the belief that it was not so complete as a sailing direction as Gomara and the others would have us believe.

While Columbus was in Portugal, musing over his purpose and planning for its accomplishment, he bethought him of a Florentine scientist, Paolo Toscanelli by name, who was reputed to have given great attention to the matter with which his own mind was occupied. He wrote to this Florentine philosopher and received from him a reply incorporating a copy of a letter which Toscanelli had already written to one Fernando Martinez; he also received a copy of a marine chart which the Florentine had drawn. These letters we will quote in full:

THE LETTERS OF TOSCANELLI TO COLUMBUS

"To Christopher Columbus, Paul, the physician, greeting:

"I see your great and magnificent desire to go where the spices grow, and in reply to your letter I send you the copy of another letter which I wrote a long time ago to a familiar friend and servant of the Most Serene King of Portugal, before the wars of Castille, in reply to another which he wrote me about the said matter by command of his Highness; and I send you another seaman's chart like that which I sent to him, by which your requests will be satisfied; the copy of my letter is as follows:

"'It pleased me greatly to learn of your familiar intercourse with your most generous and most magnificent King, and although many other times I have spoken of the very

short route from here to the Indies where spices grow,—shorter by way of the sea than that which you follow to Guinea,—you tell me that his Highness would now like from me some declaration and demonstration by sight, in order that he may understand and be able to take the said route. And although I know from my own knowledge that the world can be shown as it is in the form of a sphere, I have determined for greater facility and greater intelligence to show the said route by a chart similar to those which are made for navigation, and thus I send it to his Highness made and drawn by my hand: in which all the end of the West is shown, from Ireland to the south as far as the end of Guinea, with all the islands which lie on this route; in front of which straight to the west the commencement of the Indies is shown, and the islands and places where you can deviate toward the equinoctial line, and by how much space, that is to say, in how many leagues you can reach those most fertile places, filled with all kinds of spices and jewels and precious stones: and you must not wonder if I call the place where the spices grow *West*, because it is commonly said that they grow in the *East;* but whoever will navigate to the West will always find the said places in the West, and whoever will go by land to the East will always find the same places in the East. The straight lines which are shown lengthwise on the said chart show the distance from West to East: the others which are across show the distance from North to South. Also I showed in the said chart many places in the region of India which could be reached, in the event of some tempest or contrary winds, or any other event which might not be expected to occur, and also in order that all those regions may be easily recognized,—and because of this you should be greatly pleased. And know that in all those islands only merchants live and traffic,—informing you that there is as great a quantity of ships, mariners, and merchants with merchandise there as in all the rest of the world, and especially in a most noble port called Zaiton, where every year one hundred

great ships are loaded and unloaded with pepper, besides the many other ships which are loaded with the other spices. This country is very populous, and in it there are many provinces and kingdoms and cities without number under the dominion of a Prince who is called the Great Kan, whose name means in our language, King of Kings, and whose residence during most of the time is in the province of Cathay. His ancestors wished very much to have intercourse and speech with the Christians, and about two hundred years ago they sent to the Holy Father, in order that he might send them many wise and learned men to teach them our faith, but those who were sent turned back from the journey because of impediments; and also an ambassador came to the Pope Eugene, who related to him the great friendship which they feel for the Christians, and I spoke much with him of many things; of the grandeur of the royal edifices, and of the great width and length of the rivers, a wonderful thing, and of the multitude of the cities there on the banks of the rivers, and how there are two hundred cities on one river alone, and there are very wide and long bridges of marble ornamented with many marble columns. This country is as rich as any which may be found, and not only can great profit be obtained there and many things, but also gold and silver and precious stones and all kinds of spice can be obtained in great abundance, which are never brought to these, our regions; and it is true that wise and learned men, philosophers and astrologers and other men of great intelligence in all arts, govern the magnificent province and command the battles. And from the city of Lisbon straight toward the West, there are on the said map twenty-six spaces and in each one of them there are two hundred and fifty miles, to the most noble and great city of Quinsay: this city is one hundred miles in circumference, which are twenty-five leagues, and in it there are ten marble bridges. The name of this city in our language means City of Heaven: wonderful things are told of this city in regard to the magnificence of the

workmanship and of the revenues (this space is almost the third part of the sphere). It is in the province of Mangi near the city of Cathay, in which the King resides most of the time,—and near the island of Antilia, which you call the *Seven Cities*, and of which we have knowledge. There are ten spaces to the most noble island of Cipango, which are two thousand five hundred miles, that is to say six hundred and twenty-five leagues, which island is most fertile in gold and pearls and precious stones. Know that the temples and royal houses are covered with pure gold; therefore, because of the route being unknown, all these things are concealed; and they can very surely be reached. Many other things could be told, but as I have already told you by word and you are possessed of good intelligence, I know that nothing remains for you to learn, and for that reason I do not write more at length. And this is to satisfy your demands as much as the brevity of the time and my occupations have permitted me; and thus I remain most ready to satisfy and serve his Highness in all that he commands me.'

"Done in the city of Florence, June 25, 1474."

"To Christopher Columbus, Paul, the physician, greeting:

"I received your letters with the things which you sent me, and with them received a great favor. I perceive your magnificent and great desire to navigate in the Eastern regions by those of the West, as shown by the map which I send you, which will be better shown in the form of a round sphere. It pleases me greatly to be well understood: and that the said voyage not only is possible, but that it is true and certain and of inestimable honor and profit, and of very great renown among the Christians. But you cannot well know it perfectly except by experience and conversation, such as I have had in great quantity, and good and true information from distinguished men of great knowledge, who have come from the said regions here to the Court of Rome, and from other merchants who have traded during a long

time in those regions, men of great authority. So that when the said voyage is made it will be to powerful kingdoms and most noble cities and provinces, very rich in a great abundance of all kinds of things very necessary to us, as well as in all kinds of spices in great quantity, and jewels in great abundance. The voyage will also be made to the said Kings and Princes, who are very desirous—more than we are—to have trade and intercourse with the Christians of these regions, because a great many of them are Christians: and also to have speech and intercourse with the learned and intelligent men here, as much about religion, as about all the other sciences, because of the great renown of the empires and governments of these regions, among them. By reason of all these things and many others which could be told, it is not wonderful to me, that you,—who have great courage,—and all the Portuguese nation, who have always been generous men in all great undertakings, are inflamed with a desire to undertake the said voyage."

These letters of Toscanelli did not put within the reach of Columbus any information which he had not already made his own; and it may be for this reason that he himself makes no after mention of this correspondence. But it strengthened his conviction of the reasonableness of his own opinions, and materially aided him in forming the resolution to put them to actual test, on finding that he was supported by so eminent an authority as Toscanelli.

In those days, an enterprise like that which Columbus contemplated demanded the support of a monarch, not only because of its magnitude, but also by reason of the fact that the extension of commerce was so jealously watched by sovereigns that a private individual hardly dared to seek new lands even if he had the means. By marriage and long residence in Portugal, Columbus had become a citizen of that country. It was to King John II., therefore, that his application was first made. Ferdinand Columbus tells us that although this king "gave ear to the Admiral's proposals,

yet he hesitated to accept them on account of the great burden and expense attending the exploration and conquest of the western coast of Africa, called Guinea. Little success had thus far rewarded this undertaking, nor had he been able to double the Cape of Good Hope, which name, some say, was given it instead of Agesingue, its proper designation, because that was the farthest they hoped to extend their explorations and conquests, or, as others will have it, because this cape gave them the expectation of better countries and navigation. However, the king had but little inclination to invest any more money in discoveries; and if he gave any attention to the Admiral, it was in consequence of the excellent reasons he advanced to support his opinion, which arguments so far convinced the king that he had nothing else to do but to accept or to reject the terms which the Admiral proposed. For the Admiral, being a noble and magnanimous man, wished to make an agreement that would be of some personal benefit and honor to himself, so that he would leave behind him a notable reputation and a respected family, such as became his achievements and memory. For this reason the king, by the advice of one Doctor Cazadilla, whom he greatly esteemed, determined to send a caravel secretly to attempt that which the Admiral had proposed to him; for if those countries were in this way discovered, he thought that he would not be obliged to bestow any great reward which might be demanded. Having quickly equipped a caravel, he sent it the way the Admiral had proposed to go, for the vessel was carrying supplies to the islands of the Cape Verd group. But those he sent had not the knowledge, perseverance, and energy of the Admiral. After wandering many days on the sea, they turned back to the islands of Cape Verd, laughing at the undertaking, and saying that it was unreasonable to think there should be any land in those waters."

This caused Columbus to determine on the presentation of his scheme to the court of Spain. He meditated going

out in search of new territory, and this could not be taken possession of in his own name, or in that of any private individual who might be able and inclined to provide the ships and supplies. These lands to be discovered must be acquired by some European government. The fact that he had in mind this necessity seems inconsistent with his belief that he was to reach the wealthy lands of Cipango and Cathay and the populous and civilized realms of the Khan. Still it must be borne in mind that he contemplated the possibility of encountering large islands on the way. These he might take possession of in the name of the monarch by whom he might be commissioned. There is much that is hazy and uncertain about Columbus's movements at this time. Some historians will have it that he applied to the republic of his native Genoa, also to the court of France. There is also a story, which we have on the authority of Ferdinand Columbus, that he sent his brother Bartholomew to seek the patronage of Henry VII. of England in case the court of Spain should fail him. According to this account, Bartholomew fell into the hands of pirates and was stripped of all he possessed. Owing to this ill fortune, he was obliged to support himself by making sea charts, in which art he was an adept, until he had so far reinstated his circumstances that he was in a position to interview the king. Henry VII., so Ferdinand will have us believe, willingly gave his attention to Bartholomew's project and ordered Columbus to be sent for. But in the meantime the latter was so hopeful of success in Spain that he did not think it advisable to change the direction of his quest. All this, however, is very uncertain, and it is entirely unlikely that England had the opportunity of acquiring the glory attached to the sending out of the Discoverer of the New World. For seven tedious years, Columbus's hopes were alternately encouraged and deferred. At times he seemed to be gaining the interest of the influential advisers of the sovereigns, and then again his scheme was literally laughed out of court. But with the tenacity of purpose, the patient

courage which was characteristic of the man, he persevered in a belief, which nothing could destroy, that in the end he would be enabled to accomplish his design. Of his employments during these years of waiting we have little trustworthy record. There is enough, however, to indicate that at times he was exceedingly poor. Nevertheless, to the fact that during this time of trial and disappointment he solaced himself with an amour with Beatriz Enriquez we owe the existence of his son Ferdinand and his history. The latter relates of his renowned father that immediately on repairing to Spain "he went at once to the Court of the Catholic King, which was then at Cordova, where, being affable and an entertaining talker, he made friends of such persons as were most favorably inclined to his undertaking and fitted to persuade the king to espouse it. Among these was Luis de Santangel, an Arragonian gentleman, Clerk of the allowances in the King's household, a man of great prudence and reputation. As the undertaking demanded an examination by enlightened men, and not meaningless words in favor, their highnesses entrusted the matter to the Prior of Prado, afterward Archbishop of Granada, and ordered him, together with some cosmographers, to make a thorough investigation of the project and to report their opinion respecting it. But there was only a small number of cosmographers at that time, and those who were called together were not so enlightened as they should have been, nor would the Admiral wholly explain his plan, for fear he might be served as he had been in Portugal and be deprived of his reward. For this reason the answers they gave their highnesses were as different as their judgments and opinions. Some said that inasmuch as no information concerning those countries had been obtained by the great number of experienced sailors living since the Creation, which was many thousand years ago, it was not likely that the Admiral should know more than all the seamen that were living or that had lived before that time. Others, who were more influenced by cosmographical reasons, said the world was

so prodigiously great that it was incredible that a voyage of three years would carry him to the end of the East, where he proposed to go, and to substantiate this opinion they brought forward the statement of Seneca, who, in one of his works, by way of argument, asserts that many wise men disagreed about this question, whether or not the ocean were boundless, and doubted if it could be traversed; and if it were navigable, whether habitable lands would be found on the other side of the globe, and whether they could be reached. They added that only a small part of this terraqueous globe was inhabited, and that this was our hemisphere, and that all the remainder was sea, and only navigable near the coasts and rivers."

In Spain at that time nearly all high offices were held by churchmen; and churchmen were ever inclined to discountenance amendments to generally received and time-honored opinion. The argument contained in the words "St. Augustine doubts it" was strong enough to throw a most serious obstacle in Columbus's way. In order to illustrate the nature of the opinion which had come down from far time, and which, in the tenacity of its hold upon the commonly accepted theories concerning the earth, for a time frustrated the arguments of Columbus and the enlightened men who held with him, we will quote the words of the sainted Bishop of Hippo: "But as to the fable that there are antipodes—that is to say, men on the opposite side of the earth, where the sun rises when it sets to us—men who walk with their feet opposite ours, that is on no ground credible. And, indeed it is not affirmed that this has been learned by historical knowledge, but by scientific conjecture, on the ground that the earth is suspended within the concavity of the sky, and that it has as much room on the one side of it as on the other; hence they say that the part which is beneath must be inhabited. But they do not remark that, although it be supposed or scientifically demonstrated that the world is of a round and spherical form, yet it does not follow that the other side of the earth

is bare of water, nor even, though it be bare, does it immediately follow that it is peopled. For Scripture, which proves the truth of its historical statements by the accomplishment of its prophecies, gives no false information; and it is too absurd to say that some men might have taken ship and traversed the whole wide ocean, and crossed from this side of the world to the other, and that thus even the inhabitants of that distant region are descended from the first man."

In April, 1491, Ferdinand and Isabella were encamped with their army before Granada, where the Moors were making their final stand. It was not a time propitious for enforcing upon their attention the project for seeking problematical land beyond unexplored seas. Nevertheless, Columbus succeeded in inducing them to appoint another junta, or committee, to consider his plan. This he gained through the interest of Cardinal Gonzalez de Mendoza. But the finding of this court of inquiry was also against him. We now see him, disappointed and poverty-stricken, making his way on foot with his little son Diego to the convent of Rabida, near Palos de Moguer in Andalusia, with what definite plans for the future it is impossible for us to determine, except that we know that his immediate purpose was to seek his own relatives in the town of Huelva. Ferdinand Columbus says that his father was now determined to apply to the King of France, to whom he had already written concerning the project, intending, if he were not admitted to an audience there, to go to England afterward to search for his brother, from whom he had not yet received any intelligence. In this dark hour of discouragement, good fortune provided that he should meet Friar Juan Perez. Enthusiast that he was, Columbus never failed to take advantage of an opportunity to enlist believers in his grand scheme. He talked with Perez and others, among whom probably was Martin Alonso Pinzon, of his plan for making discoveries. He told how for years he had been waiting on the queen, in the hope that she would provide him with the ships necessary to seek

the western shores of the Atlantic. Columbus could not have fallen in with a man better able to further his interests than was Perez. He was Isabella's confessor, and thus held a position in which he could directly and effectively advise the queen. He sent a letter, and after fourteen days received a reply from Isabella directing him to come to her at the court which was at Santa Fe, before Granada. Columbus was to wait at the convent in the assurance that he also would soon hear from her. The result was that Columbus was commanded to repair again to the court, the queen thoughtfully sending him twenty thousand maravedies in florins, to defray his immediate expenses.

The day was won. All that really remained was the arranging of the terms on which Columbus should go forth on this great errand. His son asserts that there was some difficulty encountered in the settlement of this question. Columbus's demands were too haughty; and when told that they could not be conceded, he again turned on his heel and left the Spanish court. But Isabella was persuaded to send De Santangel to bring him back; and all he asked for was granted, the queen expressing her willingness to pledge her jewels to fit out the vessels, if necessary. That his demands were sufficiently high is witnessed by the following document setting forth the privileges and rights which it was agreed Columbus should enjoy as a reward for his undertaking:

THE CAPITULATION

"The things supplicated and which your Highnesses give and declare to Christopher Columbus in some satisfaction for what he has discovered in the oceans, and for the voyage which now, with the aid of God, he is about to make therein, in the service of your Highnesses, are as follows:

"First, that your Highnesses as Lords that are of the said oceans, make from this time the said Don Christopher

Columbus your Admiral in all those islands and mainlands which by his hand and industry shall be discovered or acquired in the said oceans, during his life, and after his death, his heirs and successors, from one to another perpetually, with all the preëminence and prerogatives belonging to the said office and according as Don Alonso Enriquez, your High Admiral of Castile, and the other predecessors in the said office held it in their districts. It so pleases your Highnesses. Juan de Coloma.

"Likewise, that your Highnesses make the said Don Christopher your Viceroy and Governor General in all the said islands and mainlands, and islands which, as has been said, he may discover or acquire in the said seas; and that for the government of each one and of any one of them, he may make selection of three persons for each office, and that your Highnesses may choose and select the one who shall be most serviceable to you, and thus the lands which our Lord shall permit him to discover and acquire will be better governed, in the service of your Highnesses. It so pleases their Highnesses. Juan de Coloma.

"Item, that all and whatever merchandise, whether it be pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spices, and other things whatsoever, and merchandise of whatever kind, name, and manner it may be, which may be bought, bartered, discovered, acquired, or obtained within the limits of the said Admiralty, your Highnesses grant henceforth to the said Don Christopher, and will that he may have and take for himself, the tenth part of all of them, deducting all the expenses which may be incurred therein; so that of what shall remain free and clear, he may have and take the tenth part for himself, and do with it as he wills, the other nine parts remaining for your Highnesses. It so pleases their Highnesses. Juan de Coloma.

"Likewise, that if on account of the merchandise that he might bring from the said islands and land, which as aforesaid he shall acquire and discover, or of that which may be taken in exchange for the same from other merchants

here, any suit should arise in the place where the said trade and traffic shall be held and conducted; and if by the preëminence of his office of Admiral it may belong to him to know of such suit, it may please your Highnesses that he or his deputy, and no other judge, may take cognizance of the said suit, and thus it is decreed henceforth. It so pleases their Highnesses if it belongs to the said office of Admiral, as the said Admiral Don Alonso Enriquez held it and the others, his predecessors in their districts, and if it be just. Juan de Coloma.

"Item, that in all the vessels which may be equipped for the said traffic and negotiations each time and whenever and as often as they may be equipped, the said Admiral Don Christopher Columbus may, if he wishes, contribute and pay the eighth part of all that may be expended in the equipment. And also that he may have and take of the profit, the eighth part of all which may result from such equipment. It so pleases their Highnesses. Juan de Coloma.

"These are executed and despatched with the responses of your Highnesses at the end of each article in the town of Santa Fe de la Vega de Granada, on the seventeenth day of April in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ one thousand four hundred and ninety-two. I, the King. I, the Queen. By order of the King and of the Queen. Juan de Coloma. Registered Calçena."

Of the cost of equipment Columbus contributed one-eighth, or five hundred thousand maravedies. It is impossible for us to ascertain where he obtained this amount, his own circumstances being notoriously impoverished. Some have thought that the Pinzons aided him to this extent; but it is more probable that some noble courtier was willing to invest his money in the scheme which, though so hazardous, was supported by the good will and the finances of the sovereigns. Concerning the amount subscribed by their Catholic majesties, Navarrete quotes this entry, which he

found in the account books of Garcia Martinez and Pedro de Montmayor:

"The said Alonso de Las Cabezas gave and paid by another warrant of the said Archbishop of Granada, made on the 5th of May in the year 1492, to Luis de Santangel, secretary of the allowances of the King, our Lord, and through him to Alonso de Angulo, by virtue of an order which he exhibited from the said secretary of the allowances, in which was inserted the said warrant, two hundred thousand maravedies on account of four hundred thousand paid to Vasco de Quiroga, which the said archbishop paid by the said warrant of two million six hundred and forty thousand maravedies, which he was to receive in this manner: one million five hundred thousand maravedies to pay to D'Isag'Abraham for a like sum which he loaned to their Highnesses to carry on the war, and the one million one hundred and forty thousand maravedies remaining to pay the said secretary of the allowances on account of a like sum which he loaned to pay for the caravels which their Highnesses commanded to go as a fleet to the Indies, to pay to Christopher Columbus who went in said fleet."

It is thus shown that these monarchs were obliged to borrow the small sum, amounting to about four thousand five hundred dollars in our money, required to equip this great enterprise. In view of this fact, our wonder grows less that Columbus was so long in convincing them of the wisdom of the undertaking.

It was commanded that he should be equipped with three caravels, two of which were to be provided by the town of Palos, whence the expedition was to embark, in execution of a sentence which had been pronounced upon the inhabitants of that place. There is no doubt that the Pinzons, who were seafaring men and highly respected citizens of Palos, were very helpful to Columbus in shipping crews for this hazardous expedition. How much persuading was needed in order that a sufficient number of men might be

obtained is indicated by the following warrant issued by the sovereigns: "And by these presents we grant security to all and any persons who shall go in the said caravels with the said Christopher Columbus on the said voyage which he is making by our order in the said ocean seas, as has been expressed, in order that no evil or damage may be done them, nor any disturbance in their persons or goods; nor in anything of theirs by reason of any crime which they may have done or committed from the day of the date of this our letter, and during the time that they shall go and shall remain yonder, with the return to their houses, and two months afterward. For this reason we command you all, and each of you in your place and jurisdiction, not to recognize any criminal proceeding relating to the persons who shall go with the said Christopher Columbus in the said three caravels during the aforesaid time."

This order indicates the difficult character of the crews with which Columbus was obliged to sail. Yet even, in view of the tempting inducements thus held out, so hopeless and dangerous seemed the enterprise which he had undertaken, that the full quota of men was with difficulty obtained. According to Las Casas, the number of those who manned the three small boats was ninety. It is naturally a source of wonder to us that a voyage which in those days seemed so terrible was undertaken in vessels so small and frail. In the year 1892 these diminutive ships were reproduced with all the exactness that the most careful research would warrant, and were exhibited at the Columbian Exposition held in Chicago. The *Santa Maria*, a small boat even as compared with vessels of the time of Columbus, was sixty-three feet over all, with a draught of ten and one-half feet, and was of about one hundred and twenty tons burden. The *Pinta* was fifty tons, and the *Niña* forty. With this little fleet, under the flag of Spain, Christopher Columbus sailed from the town of Palos on August 3, 1492, to add an empire to the realm of Castile and a continent to the knowledge of the world.

CHAPTER IV

JOURNAL OF THE FIRST VOYAGE

THE VOYAGE TO THE WEST

It is our belief that the readers of this volume will support us in the opinion that nothing could be more fitting than that the account of the most momentous voyage ever undertaken in the history of the world should be given in the famous navigator's own words. Fortunately for the students of history, Columbus himself was duly impressed with the greatness of his undertaking and the immortal interest which would accrue to it. From the very moment that he bade farewell to the sovereigns who supported him in his project, he began keeping a full and detailed journal. In this he noted, at the close of every day, what took place aboard his ships during the voyage, the distance and rate of sailing and all those matters which properly belong to a log-book, the attitude of his crews, the floating débris by which their hopes of reaching land from time to time were buoyed, his own reflections, and even his dreams. After landing, he recorded minute observations on the lands and peoples visited. The journal was continued until he again reached the harbor of Palos and was ready triumphantly to report his success. This holograph journal came into the possession of Las Casas, who inherited the most important of Columbus's papers. Unfortunately, however, Las Casas did not deem the journal worth reproducing in its entirety. He published an abridged copy, from which he eliminated a great deal of the discoursive material written by the admiral's

own hand. By so doing, he deprived historians of matter which now would be regarded of inestimable value. There was not a word of Columbus's reflections, however irrelevant they may have been, that would not now be deemed priceless. Las Casas later wrote a history of western discovery up to his time. In this he reproduced matter from the original journal, which is not found in the abridgment. These two sources comprise the most authoritative material in our possession regarding the great voyage. The journal, however, which we here reproduce, is the abridged copy, the holograph having long since disappeared. It will be noticed that it is generally written in the third person, though in almost every instance where important details are given the exact words of Columbus are quoted. We have followed the copy which Martin Fernandez de Navarrete published in 1825.

Turning to the journal itself, it will be noted that after the brief address to the sovereigns, in which Columbus is careful to say that he is going by a way which "until to-day we do not know certainly that anyone had gone," he begins his record on Friday, August 3, 1492. Columbus did not participate in that superstition common among sailors that Friday is an unlucky day on which to begin a voyage. In the result he found that it was for him exactly the opposite. On a Friday he cleared the Bar of Saltes, off the village of Huelva; on Friday, October 12th, he first sighted land in the western world; on Friday, March 14, 1493, he again returned to Palos. After considerable trouble, owing to the accident to the *Pinta* which resulted from the treachery of her owners, who were unwilling that their vessel should be chartered for so uncertain a mission, the admiral left the harbor of Gomera, in Madeira, and laid his course for the west. It was with a great deal of solicitude that he began his journey, for at the very last moment he learned that there were three caravels sailing in those waters in search of him, with the purpose of preventing his voyage. These had been sent out by the King of Portugal, who

regretted, when too late, that he had lost to his rivals in Spain an opportunity which he began to foresee might turn out to great advantage. The caravels which he despatched were under orders to lie in wait for Columbus and capture him, either at his setting out or on his return. But by good fortune the admiral escaped them.

In the entry of Monday, September 10th, we find evidence that Columbus anticipated the troubles which would arise from the fear and discouragement of his crews. In order to disarm this as much as possible, he adopted the expedient of falsifying his log and recording each day a less number of leagues than were actually sailed. Thus, by keeping his men in ignorance of the distance at which they really were from their home, he hoped that they might not so keenly dread the impossibility of getting back. In this he must have had the support of his subordinate commanders. But he was by no means successful in preventing their dissatisfaction with the voyage. Las Casas, under the date of September 24th, says that so great was the indignation at Columbus's persistence in sailing into what his men feared was a boundless sea, that they even went so far as to talk of throwing him overboard at night, and afterward publish that his loss had been by accident. His iron determination could not be overcome; nevertheless, he united great prudence with his firmness, for Las Casas also relates how, to cheer the sailors, he "laughed with them while he was weeping at heart." However, the discontent with which he had to deal cannot be truly said to have ever amounted to mutiny. Columbus was not thwarted in his purposes, in no sense capitulated to the demands of his men, made no compromises, but resolutely maintained his course. There is no real mutiny where a commander is able to effect this.

On Friday, October 12th, his courage was rewarded by the sight of land. What was the exact spot which he then beheld? He called the island Guanahani. The name has disappeared. The exact site of this first landfall has always

been and always will be the subject of undecided discussion. There is not sufficient detail in the journal, or in Las Casas's history, or elsewhere, on which can be based an absolute determination. By many Guanahani is supposed to be San Salvador, or what is also known as Cat Island. But the greater consensus of opinion among modern investigators accepts Watling Island as the true site of the landfall.

We will now allow the journal to tell its own story.

JOURNAL

OF THE

FIRST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS

This is the first voyage and the routes and directions taken by the Admiral Don Cristobal Colon when he discovered the Indies, summarized; except the prologue made for the Sovereigns, which is given word for word and commences in this manner.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Because, O most Christian, and very high, very excellent, and puissant Princes, King and Queen of the Spains and of the islands of the Sea, our Lords, in this present year of 1492, after your Highnesses had given an end to the war with the Moors who reigned in Europe, and had finished it in the very great city of Granada, where in this present year, on the second day of the month of January, by force of arms, I saw the royal banners of your Highnesses placed on the towers of Alhambra, which is the fortress of that city, and I saw the Moorish King come forth from the gates of the city and kiss the royal hands of your Highnesses, and of the Prince my Lord, and presently in that same month, acting on the information that I had given to your Highnesses touching the lands of India, and respecting a Prince who is called *Gran Can*, which means in our language King of Kings, how he and his ancestors had sent to Rome

many times to ask for learned men of our holy faith to teach him, and how the Holy Father had never complied, insomuch that many people believing in idolatries were lost by receiving doctrine of perdition: YOUR HIGHNESSES, as Catholic Christians and Princes who love the holy Christian faith, and the propagation of it, and who are enemies to the sect of Mahoma and to all idolatries and heresies, resolved to send me, Cristobal Colon, to the said parts of India to see the said princes, and the cities and lands, and their disposition, with a view that they might be converted to our holy faith; and ordered that I should not go by land to the eastward, as had been customary, but that I should go by way of the west, whither, up to this day, we do not know for certain that anyone has gone.

Thus, after having turned out all the Jews from all your kingdoms and lordships, in the same month of January, your Highnesses gave orders to me that with a sufficient fleet I should go to the said parts of India, and for this they made great concessions to me, and ennobled me, so that henceforward I should be called Don, and should be Chief Admiral of the Ocean Sea, perpetual Viceroy and Governor of all the islands and continents that I should discover and gain, and that I might hereafter discover and gain in the Ocean Sea, and that my eldest son should succeed, and so on from generation to generation for ever.

I left the city of Granada on the 12th day of May, in the same year of 1492, being Saturday, and came to the town of Palos, which is a seaport; where I equipped three vessels well suited for such service; and departed from that port, well supplied with provisions and with many sailors, on the 3rd day of August of the same year, being Friday, half an hour before sunrise, taking the route to the islands of Canaria, belonging to your Highnesses, which are in the said Ocean Sea, that I might thence take my departure for navigating until I should arrive at the Indies, and give the letters of your Highnesses to those princes, so as to comply with my orders. As part of my duty I thought it well to

write an account of all the voyage very punctually, noting from day to day all that I should do and see, and that should happen, as will be seen further on. Also, Lords Princes, I resolved to describe each night what passed in the day, and to note each day how I navigated at night. I propose to construct a new chart for navigating, on which I shall delineate all the sea and lands of the Ocean in their proper positions under their bearings; and further, I propose to prepare a book, and to put down all as it were in a picture, by latitude from the equator, and western longitude. Above all, I shall have accomplished much, for I shall forget sleep, and shall work at the business of navigation, that so the service may be performed; all which will entail great labor.

Friday, 3rd of August.

We departed on Friday, the 3rd of August, in the year 1492, from the bar of Saltes, at eight o'clock, and proceeded with a strong sea breeze until sunset, towards the S., for sixty miles, equal to fifteen leagues; afterwards S. W. and W. S. W., which was the course for the Canaries.

Saturday, 4th of August.

They steered S. W. ¼ S.

Sunday, 5th of August.

They continued their course day and night more than forty leagues.

Monday, 6th of August.

The rudder of the caravel *Pinta* became unshipped, and Martin Alonso Pinzon, who was in command, believed or suspected that it was by contrivance of Gomes Rascon and Cristobal Quintero, to whom the caravel belonged, for they dreaded to go on that voyage. The Admiral says that, before they sailed, these men had been displaying a certain backwardness, so to speak. The Admiral was much disturbed at not being able to help the said caravel

without danger, and he says that he was eased of some anxiety when he reflected that Martin Alonso Pinzon was a man of energy and ingenuity. They made, during the day and night, twenty-nine leagues.

Tuesday, 7th of August.

The rudder of the *Pinta* was shipped and secured, and they proceeded on a course for the island of Lanzarote, one of the Canaries. They made, during the day and night, twenty-five leagues.

Wednesday, 8th of August.

Opinions respecting their position varied among the pilots of the three caravels; but that of the Admiral proved to be nearer the truth. He wished to go to Gran Canaria, to leave the caravel *Pinta*, because she was disabled by the faulty hanging of her rudder, and was making water. He intended to obtain another there if one could be found. They could not reach the place that day.

Thursday, 9th of August.

The Admiral was not able to reach Gomera until the night of Sunday, while Martin Alonso remained on that coast of Gran Canaria by order of the Admiral, because his vessel could not be navigated. Afterwards the Admiral took her to Canaria, and they repaired the *Pinta* very thoroughly through the pains and labor of the Admiral, of Martin Alonso, and of the rest. Finally they came to Gomera. They saw a great fire issue from the mountain of the island of Tenerife, which is of great height. They rigged the *Pinta* with square sails, for she was lateen rigged; and the Admiral reached Gomera on Sunday, the 2nd of September, with the *Pinta* repaired.

The Admiral says that many honorable Spanish gentlemen who were at Gomera with Doña Ines Peraza, mother of Guillen Peraza [who was afterwards the first Count of Gomera], and who were natives of the island of Hierro,

declared that every year they saw land to the west of the Canaries; and others, natives of Gomera, affirmed the same on oath. The Admiral here says that he remembers, when in Portugal in the year 1484, a man came to the King from the island of Madeira, to beg for a caravel to go to this land that was seen, who swore that it could be seen every year, and always in the same way. He also says that he recollects the same thing being affirmed in the islands of the Azores; and all these lands were described as in the same direction, and as being like each other, and of the same size. Having taken in water, wood, and meat, and all else that the men had who were left at Gomera by the Admiral when he went to the island of Canaria to repair the caravel *Pinta*, he finally made sail from the said island of Gomera, with his three caravels, on Thursday, the 6th day of September.

Thursday, 6th of September.

He departed on that day from the port of Gomera in the morning, and shaped a course to go on his voyage; having received tidings from a caravel that came from the island of Hierro that three Portuguese caravels were off that island with the object of taking him. [This must have been the result of the King's annoyance that Colon should have gone to Castille.] There was a calm all that day and night, and in the morning he found himself between Gomera and Tenerife.

Friday, 7th of September.

The calm continued all Friday and Saturday, until the third hour of the night.

Saturday, 8th of September.

At the third hour of Saturday night it began to blow from the N. E., and the Admiral shaped a course to the W. He took in much sea over the bows, which retarded progress, and nine leagues were made in that day and night.

Sunday, 9th of September.

This day the Admiral made nineteen leagues, and he arranged to reckon less than the number run, because, if the voyage was of long duration, the people would not be so terrified and disheartened. In the night he made one hundred and twenty miles, at the rate of twelve miles an hour, which are thirty leagues. The sailors steered badly, letting the ship fall off to N. E., and even more, respecting which the Admiral complained many times.

Monday, 10th of September.

In this day and night he made sixty leagues, at the rate of ten miles an hour, which are two and one-half leagues; but he only counted forty-eight leagues, that the people might not be alarmed if the voyage should be long.

Tuesday, 11th of September.

That day they sailed on their course, which was W., and made twenty leagues and more. They saw a large piece of the mast of a ship of one hundred and twenty tons, but were unable to get it. In the night they made nearly twenty leagues, but only counted sixteen, for the reason already given.

Wednesday, 12th of September.

That day, steering their course, they made thirty-three leagues during the day and night, counting less.

Thursday, 13th of September.

That day and night, steering their course, which was W., they made thirty-three leagues, counting three or four less. The currents were against them. On this day, at the commencement of the night, the needles turned a half point to N. W., and in the morning they turned somewhat more N. W.

Friday, 14th of September.

That day they navigated, on their westerly course, day and night, twenty leagues, counting a little less. Here those

of the caravel *Niña* reported that they had seen a tern and a boatswain-bird, and these birds never go more than twenty-five leagues from the land.

Saturday, 15th of September.

That day and night they made twenty-seven leagues and rather more on their W. course; and in the early part of the night there fell from heaven into the sea a marvellous flame of fire, at a distance of about four or five leagues from them.

Sunday, 16th of September.

That day and night they steered their course W., making thirty-nine leagues, but the Admiral only counted thirty-six. There were some clouds and small rain. The Admiral says that on that day, and ever afterwards, they met with very temperate breezes, so that there was great pleasure in enjoying the mornings, nothing being wanted but the song of nightingales. He says that the weather was like April in Andalusia. Here they began to see many tufts of grass which were very green, and appeared to have been quite recently torn from the land. From this they judged that they were near some island, but not the mainland, according to the Admiral, "because," as he says, "I make the mainland to be more distant."

Monday, 17th of September.

They proceeded on their W. course, and made over fifty leagues in the day and night, but the Admiral only counted forty-seven. They were aided by the current. They saw much very fine grass and herbs from rocks, which came from the W. They, therefore, considered that they were near land. The pilots observed the N. point, and found that the needles turned a full point to the W. of N. So the mariners were alarmed and dejected, and did not give their reason. But the Admiral knew, and ordered that the N. should be again observed at dawn. They then found that

the needles were true. The cause was that the star makes the movement, and not the needles. At dawn, on that Monday, they saw much more weed appearing, like herbs from rivers, in which they found a live crab, which the Admiral kept. He says that these crabs are certain signs of land. The sea water was found to be less salt than it had been since leaving the Canaries. The breezes were always soft. Everyone was pleased, and the best sailers went ahead to sight the first land. They saw many tunny-fish, and the crew of the *Niña* killed one. The Admiral here says that these signs of land came from the west, "in which direction I trust in that high God in whose hands are all victories that very soon we shall sight land." In that morning he says that a white bird was seen which has not the habit of sleeping on the sea, called *rabo de junco* [boatswain-bird].

Tuesday, 18th of September.

This day and night they made over fifty-five leagues, the Admiral only counting forty-eight. In all these days the sea was very smooth, like the river at Seville. This day Martin Alonso, with the *Pinta*, which was a fast sailer, did not wait, for he said to the Admiral, from his caravel, that he had seen a great multitude of birds flying westward, that he hoped to see land that night, and that he therefore pressed onward. A great cloud appeared in the N., which is a sign of the proximity of land.

Wednesday, 19th of September.

The Admiral continued on his course, and during the day and night he made but twenty-five leagues because it was calm. He counted twenty-two. This day, at ten o'clock, a booby came to the ship, and in the afternoon another arrived, these birds not generally going more than twenty leagues from the land. There was also some drizzling rain without wind, which is a sure sign of land. The Admiral did not wish to cause delay by beating to windward

to ascertain whether land was near, but he considered it certain that there were islands both to the N. and S. of his position [as indeed there were, and he was passing through the middle of them]. For his desire was to press onwards to the Indies, the weather being fine. For on his return, God willing, he could see all. These are his own words. Here the pilots found their positions. He of the *Niña* made the Canaries four hundred and forty leagues distant, the *Pinta* four hundred and twenty. The pilot of the Admiral's ship made the distance exactly four hundred leagues.

Thursday, 20th of September.

This day the course was W. by N., and as her head was all round the compass, owing to the calm that prevailed, the ships made only seven or eight leagues. Two boobies came to the ship, and afterwards another, a sign of the proximity of land. They saw much weed, although none was seen on the previous day. They caught a bird with the hand, which was like a tern. But it was a river bird, not a sea bird, the feet being like those of a gull. At dawn two or three land birds came singing to the ship, and they disappeared before sunset. Afterwards a booby came from W. N. W., and flew to the S. W., which was a sign that it left land in the W. N. W.; for these birds sleep on shore, and go to sea in the mornings in search of food, not extending their flight more than twenty leagues from the land.

Friday, 21st of September.

Most of the day it was calm, and later there was a little wind. During the day and night they did not make good more than thirteen leagues. At dawn they saw so much weed that the sea appeared to be covered with it, and it came from the W. A booby was seen. The sea was very smooth, like a river, and the air the best in the world. They saw a whale, which is a sign that they were near land, because they always keep near the shore.

Saturday, 22nd of September.

They shaped a course W. N. W. more or less, her head turning from one to the other point, and made thirty leagues. Scarcely any weed was seen. They saw some sandpipers and another bird. Here the Admiral says: "This contrary wind was very necessary for me, because my people were much excited at the thought that in these seas no wind ever blew in the direction of Spain." Part of the day there was no weed, and later it was very thick.

Sunday, 23rd of September.

They shaped a course N. W., and at times more northerly; occasionally they were on their course, which was W., and they made about twenty-two leagues. They saw a dove and a booby, another river bird, and some white birds. There was a great deal of weed, and they found crabs in it. The sea being smooth and calm, the crew began to murmur, saying that here there was no great sea, and that the wind would never blow so that they could return to Spain. Afterwards the sea rose very much, without wind, which astonished them. The Admiral here says: "Thus the high sea was very necessary to me, such as had not appeared but in the time of the Jews when they went out of Egypt and murmured against Moses, who delivered them out of captivity."

Monday, 24th of September.

The Admiral went on his W. course all day and night, making fourteen leagues. He counted twelve. A booby came to the ship, and many sandpipers.

Tuesday, 25th of September.

This day began with a calm, and afterwards there was wind. They were on their W. course until night. The Admiral conversed with Martin Alonso Pinzon, captain of the caravel *Pinta*, respecting a chart which he had sent to the caravel three days before, on which, as it would appear, the Admiral had certain islands depicted in that sea.

Martin Alonso said that the ships were in the position on which the islands were placed, and the Admiral replied that so it appeared to him: but it might be that they had not fallen in with them, owing to the currents which had always set the ships to the N. E., and that they had not made so much as the pilots reported. The Admiral then asked for the chart to be returned, and it was sent back on a line. The Admiral then began to plot the position on it, with the pilot and mariners. At sunset Martin Alonso went up on the poop of his ship, and with much joy called to the Admiral, claiming the reward as he had sighted land. When the Admiral heard this positively declared, he says that he gave thanks to the Lord on his knees, while Martin Alonso said the *Gloria in excelsis* with his people. The Admiral's crew did the same. Those of the *Niña* all went up on the mast and into the rigging, and declared that it was land. It so seemed to the Admiral, and that it was distant twenty-five leagues. They all continued to declare it was land until night. The Admiral ordered the course to be altered from W. to S. W., in which direction the land had appeared. That day they made four leagues on a W. course, and seventeen S. W. during the night, in all twenty-one; but the people were told that thirteen was the distance made good: for it was always feigned to them that the distances were less, so that the voyage might not appear so long. Thus two reckonings were kept on this voyage, the shorter being feigned, and the longer being the true one. The sea was very smooth, so that many sailors bathed alongside. They saw many dorados and other fish.

Wednesday, 26th of September.

The Admiral continued on the W. course until after noon. Then he altered course to S. W., until he made out that what had been said to be land was only clouds. Day and night they made thirty-one leagues, counting twenty-four for the people. The sea was like a river, the air pleasant and very mild.

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Track of Columbus's movements during his first voyage after the lan
given in the original log, by Captain G. V

l he started on the return voyage. *Prepared in accordance with the data*
S. N., former Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

Thursday, 27th of September.

The course W., and distance made good during day and night twenty-four leagues, twenty being counted for the people. Many dorados came. One was killed. A boatswain-bird came.

Friday, 28th of September.

The course was W., and the distance, owing to calms, only fourteen leagues in day and night, thirteen leagues being counted. They met with little weed; but caught two dorados, and more in the other ships.

Saturday, 29th of September.

The course was W., and they made twenty-four leagues, counting twenty-one for the people. Owing to calms, the distance made good during day and night was not much. They saw a bird called *rabiforcado* [man-o'-war bird], which makes the boobies vomit what they have swallowed, and eats it, maintaining itself on nothing else. It is a sea bird, but does not sleep on the sea, and does not go more than twenty leagues from the land. There are many of them at the Cape Verd Islands. Afterwards they saw two boobies. The air was very mild and agreeable, and the Admiral says that nothing was wanting but to hear the nightingale. The sea smooth as a river. Later, three boobies and a man-o'-war bird were seen three times. There was much weed.

Sunday, 30th of September.

The western course was steered, and during the day and night, owing to calms, only fourteen leagues were made, eleven being counted. Four boatswain-birds came to the ship, which is a great sign of land, for so many birds of this kind together is a sign that they are not straying or lost. They also twice saw four boobies. There was much weed. Note that the stars which are called *las guardias* [the Pointers], when night comes on, are near the western point, and when dawn breaks they are near the N. E. point; so

that, during the whole night, they do not appear to move more than three lines or nine hours, and this on each night. The Admiral says this, and also that at nightfall the needles vary a point westerly, while at dawn they agree exactly with the star. From this it would appear that the North Star has a movement like the other stars, while the needles always point correctly.

Monday, 1st of October.

Course W., and twenty-five leagues made good, counted for the crew as twenty leagues. There was a heavy shower of rain. At dawn the Admiral's pilot made the distance from Hierro five hundred and seventy-eight leagues to the west. The reduced reckoning which the Admiral showed to the crew made it five hundred and eighty-four leagues; but the truth which the Admiral observed and kept secret was seven hundred and seven.

Tuesday, 2nd of October.

Course W., and during the day and night thirty-nine leagues were made good, counted for the crew as thirty. The sea always smooth. Many thanks be given to God, says the Admiral, that the weed is coming from E. to W., contrary to its usual course. Many fish were seen, and one was killed. A white bird was also seen that appeared to be a gull.

Wednesday, 3rd of October.

They navigated on the usual course, and made good forty-seven leagues, counted as forty. Sandpipers appeared, and much weed, some of it very old and some quite fresh and having fruit. They saw no birds. The Admiral, therefore, thought that they had left the islands behind them which were depicted on the charts. The Admiral here says that he did not wish to keep the ships beating about during the last week, and in the last few days when there were so many signs of land, although he had information of certain islands

in this region. For he wished to avoid delay, his object being to reach the Indies. He says that to delay would not be wise.

Thursday, 4th of October.

Course W., and sixty-three leagues made good during the day and night, counted as forty-six. More than forty sandpipers came to the ship in a flock, and two boobies, and a ship's boy hit one with a stone. There also came a man-o'-war bird and a white bird like a gull.

Friday, 5th of October.

The Admiral steered his course, going eleven miles an hour, and during the day and night they made good fifty-seven leagues, as the wind increased somewhat during the night: forty-five were counted. The sea was smooth and quiet. "To God," he says, "be many thanks given, the air being pleasant and temperate, with no weed, many sandpipers, and flying-fish coming on the deck in numbers."

Saturday, 6th of October.

The Admiral continued his W. course, and during day and night they made good forty leagues, thirty-three being counted. This night Martin Alonso said that it would be well to steer S. of W., and it appeared to the Admiral that Martin Alonso did not say this with respect to the island of Cipango. He saw that if an error was made the land would not be reached so quickly, and that consequently it would be better to go at once to the continent and afterwards to the islands.

Sunday, 7th of October.

The W. course was continued; for two hours they went at the rate of twelve miles an hour, and afterwards eight miles an hour. They made good twenty-three leagues, counting eighteen for the people. This day, at sunrise, the caravel *Niña*, which went ahead, being the best sailer, and

pushed forward as much as possible to sight the land first, so as to enjoy the reward which the Sovereigns had promised to whoever should see it first, hoisted a flag at the mast head and fired a gun, as a signal that she had sighted land, for such was the Admiral's order. He had also ordered that, at sunrise and sunset, all the ships should join him; because those two times are most proper for seeing the greatest distance, the haze clearing away. No land was seen during the afternoon, as reported by the caravel *Niña*, and they passed a great number of birds flying from N. to S. W. This gave rise to the belief that the birds were either going to sleep on land, or were flying from the winter which might be supposed to be near in the land whence they were coming. The Admiral was aware that most of the islands held by the Portuguese were discovered by the flight of birds. For this reason he resolved to give up the W. course, and to shape a course W. S. W. for the two following days. He began the new course one hour before sunset. They made good, during the night, about five leagues, and twenty-three in the day, altogether twenty-eight leagues.

Monday, 8th of October.

The course was W. S. W., and eleven and one-half or twelve leagues were made good in the day and night; and at times it appears that they went at the rate of fifteen miles an hour during the night [if the handwriting is not deceptive]. The sea was like the river at Seville. "Thanks be to God," says the Admiral, "the air is very soft, like the April at Seville; and it is a pleasure to be here, so balmy are the breezes." The weed seemed to be very fresh. There were many land birds, and they took one that was flying to the S. W. Terns, ducks, and a booby were also seen.

Tuesday, 9th of October.

The course was S. W., and they made five leagues. The wind then changed, and the Admiral steered W. by N. four leagues. Altogether, in day and night, they made eleven

leagues by day and twenty and one-half leagues by night; counted as seventeen leagues altogether. Throughout the night birds were heard passing.

Wednesday, 10th of October.

The course was W. S. W., and they went at the rate of ten miles an hour, occasionally twelve miles, and sometimes seven. During the day and night they made fifty-nine leagues, counted as no more than forty-four. Here the people could endure no longer. They complained of the length of the voyage. But the Admiral cheered them up in the best way he could, giving them good hopes of the advantages they might gain from it. He added that, however much they might complain, he had to go to the Indies, and that he would go on until he found them, with the help of our Lord.

Thursday, 11th of October.

The course was W. S. W., and there was more sea than there had been during the whole of the voyage. They saw sandpipers, and a green reed near the ship. Those of the caravel *Pinta* saw a cane and a pole, and they took up another small pole which appeared to have been worked with iron; also another bit of cane, a land plant, and a small board. The crew of the caravel *Niña* also saw signs of land, and a small branch covered with berries. Everyone breathed afresh and rejoiced at these signs. The run until sunset was twenty-six leagues.

After sunset the Admiral returned to his original W. course, and they went along at the rate of twelve miles an hour. Up to two hours after midnight they had gone ninety miles, equal to twenty-two and one-half leagues. As the caravel *Pinta* was a better sailer, and went ahead of the Admiral, she found the land, and made the signals ordered by the Admiral. The land was first seen by a sailor named Rodrigo de Triana. But the Admiral, at ten in the previous night, being on the castle of the poop, saw a light, though

it was so uncertain that he could not affirm it was land. He called Pedro Gutierrez, a gentleman of the King's bed chamber, and said that there seemed to be a light, and that he should look at it. He did so, and saw it. The Admiral said the same to Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, whom the King and Queen had sent with the fleet as inspector, but he could see nothing, because he was not in a place whence anything could be seen. After the Admiral had spoken he saw the light once or twice, and it was like a wax candle rising and falling. It seemed to few to be an indication of land; but the Admiral made certain that land was close. When they said the *Salve*, which all the sailors were accustomed to sing in their way, the Admiral asked and admonished the men to keep a good lookout on the forecastle, and to watch well for land; and to him who should first cry out that he saw land, he would give a silk doublet, besides the other rewards promised by the Sovereigns, which were ten thousand maravedis to him who should first see it. At two hours after midnight the land was sighted at a distance of two leagues. They shortened sail, and lay by under the mainsail without the bonnets. The vessels were hove to, waiting for daylight; and on Friday they arrived at a small island of the Lucayos, called, in the language of the Indians, *Guanahani*. Presently they saw naked people. The Admiral went on shore in the armed boat, and Martin Alonso Pinzon, and Vicente Yañez, his brother, who was captain of the *Niña*. The Admiral took the royal standard, and the captains went with two banners of the green cross, which the Admiral took in all the ships as a sign, with an F and a Y and a crown over each letter, one on one side of the cross and the other on the other. Having landed, they saw trees very green, and much water, and fruits of diverse kinds. The Admiral called to the two captains, and to the others who leaped on shore, and to Rodrigo Escovedo, secretary of the whole fleet, and to Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, and said that they should bear faithful testimony that he, in presence of all, had taken, as he now took, possession of the

said island for the King and for the Queen, his Lords making the declarations that are required, as is more largely set forth in the testimonies which were then made in writing.

Presently many inhabitants of the island assembled. What follows is in the actual words of the Admiral in his book of the first navigation and discovery of the Indies. "I," he says, "that we might form great friendship, for I knew that they were a people who could be more easily freed and converted to our holy faith by love than by force, gave to some of them red caps, and glass beads to put round their necks, and many other things of little value, which gave them great pleasure, and made them so much our friends that it was a marvel to see. They afterwards came to the ship's boats where we were, swimming and bringing us parrots, cotton threads in skeins, darts, and many other things; and we exchanged them for other things that we gave them, such as glass beads and small bells. In fine, they took all, and gave what they had with good will. It appeared to me to be a race of people very poor in everything. They go as naked as when their mothers bore them, and so do the women, although I did not see more than one young girl. All I saw were youths, none more than thirty years of age. They are very well made, with very handsome bodies, and very good countenances. Their hair is short and coarse, almost like the hairs of a horse's tail. They wear the hair brought down to the eyebrows, except a few locks behind, which they wear long and never cut. They paint themselves black, and they are the color of the Canarians, neither black nor white. Some paint themselves white, others red, and others of what color they find. Some paint their faces, others the whole body, some only round the eyes, others only on the nose. They neither carry nor know anything of arms, for I showed them swords, and they took them by the blade and cut themselves through ignorance. They have no iron, their darts being wands without iron, some of them having a fish's tooth at the end, and others being pointed in various ways.

They are all of fair stature and size, with good faces, and well made. I saw some with marks of wounds on their bodies, and I made signs to ask what it was, and they gave me to understand that people from other adjacent islands came with the intention of seizing them, and that they defended themselves. I believed, and still believe, that they come here from the mainland to take them prisoners. They should be good servants and intelligent, for I observed that they quickly took in what was said to them, and I believe that they would easily be made Christians, as it appeared to me that they had no religion. I, our Lord being pleased, will take hence, at the time of my departure, six natives for your Highnesses, that they may learn to speak. I saw no beast of any kind except parrots, on this island." The above is in the words of the Admiral.

CHAPTER V

JOURNAL OF THE FIRST VOYAGE—(Continued)

EXPLORATION

It appears marvellous that Columbus, after he had seen the nature of the country he had discovered, the condition of the inhabitants, and their savage manner of life, should have continued to imagine that he was in the neighborhood of the rich and splendid island of Cipango and near the dominions of the Great Khan. But as Las Casas remarks in his *Historia de las Indias:* "It is a wonderful thing how when man desires anything greatly and has firmly seated it in his imagination, everything he may see and hear at each step he judges it without reflection to be in his favor." In the entry under date of November 1st, the admiral attests his belief that he was before Zayto and Guinsay, one hundred leagues a little more or a little less. These two cities were imagined by him to be the capitals of Cathay. Indeed, he went so far as to despatch two men, a sailor and a Christian Jew, with the letter of the sovereigns to the Great Khan. When these men returned, after an expedition of twelve leagues into the interior of the island of Cuba, it may well be supposed that Columbus would have been convinced that he was in error regarding the location of his discoveries. But so deeply rooted was his conviction that he had reached the outskirts of Asia, that, in spite of all he saw during this and his later voyages, he died in the same belief.

The admiral never gave his prime consideration to scientific investigation. We notice, under date of October 13th,

that on the very inception of his discoveries, as soon as he reached land, he began his ardent quest for gold. The small pieces of the precious metal which he saw suspended from the noses of some of the inhabitants had a more immediate interest for him than the configuration of the country. It has been a subject of somewhat heated discussion and diverse opinion as to whether or not this arose from Columbus's own cupidity. When we notice the unremitting eagerness with which he pressed on the natives, wherever he encountered them, the question as to the whereabouts of gold, it is not easy to avoid an opinion prejudicial to his motive. Nevertheless, Las Casas endeavors earnestly to acquit the admiral of this unworthy imputation. In this the bishop is an eminently trustworthy witness, for no one saw so clearly and deplored so deeply as did he the terrible effects of the avarice of the Spaniards on the unfortunate natives. According to him, Columbus felt under the absolute necessity of justifying his expedition and securing the continued support of the sovereigns of Spain by making the voyage profitable. It was not an interest in geography or any other science that had induced them at some expense to send him out. They had been made participators in his belief that the way to the wealth and profitable commerce of India and Cathay lay across the western sea. New charts and an extended knowledge of the surface of the earth would never be to them sufficient repayment for their expense. Only wealth-increasing dominion would satisfy Ferdinand and Isabella. Moreover, Columbus was never allowed to forget the fact that at the court he had enemies who were doing their utmost to induce the sovereigns to doubt his theories, belittle his accomplishment, and withdraw their support. Says Las Casas: "For this cause the admiral never thought, never watched, never labored in anything else than trying to bring about the receipt of profits and revenues for the Sovereigns, fearing always that such a great enterprise would be prevented, because he saw that if the Sovereigns became tired of making expenditures, or

became displeased, they would not carry it to an end." This is a very plausible explanation of Columbus's zealous quest for gold and precious stones. But over against this we have at least the fact—and it can hardly be made to appear creditable to the admiral—that, although Rodrigo de Triana was the first actually to see land, and could justly claim the promised annuity of ten thousand maravedies, Columbus appropriated the reward on the ground of his having seen a light on the night of October 11th. De Triana was so impressed by the injustice done himself, that he went to Africa and became a Mohammedan.

When on the island of Cuba, the discoverer narrowly missed the object of his search, through a misapprehension of the signs by which alone he could hold intercourse with the natives. They indicated to him the direction in which lay a region they called "Cubanacan." By this they meant the middle part of the island; but Columbus supposed it to refer to a great city, which he could not find. In this Cubanacan, Las Casas tells us, were very rich gold mines. But through this misapprehension they were reserved for later adventurers. During this first voyage, however, Columbus did become acquainted with two commodities now held in universal approbation and more distinctively connected with the New World than is gold. He found a land "full of 'niames,' which are like carrots and taste like chestnuts." These, though difficult to identify as such by this description, Las Casas declares to be "patatas." It was also on the island of Cuba that the discoverers first saw "men and women with a half-burned weed in their hands, and herbs to smoke, which they are in the habit of doing." In his *Historia*, Las Casas inserts a note on this entry from the journal, in which he says "the men with the half-burned weed in their hands and certain herbs in order to take their smokes, which are some dry herbs put in a certain leaf, also dry, in the manner of a musket made of paper, like those the boys make on the day of the Passover of the Holy Ghost; and having lighted one part of it, by the other they

suck, absorb or receive that smoke inside with the breath, by which they become benumbed and almost drunk, and so it is said that they do not feel fatigue."

The people of the New World excited keen interest in the mind of Columbus. His descriptions of them are full and accurate. A particularly careful account of the natives is entered in his journal for

Saturday, 13th of October.

"As soon as dawn broke, many of these people came to the beach, all youths, as I have said, and all of good stature, a very handsome people. Their hair is not curly, but loose and coarse, like horse hair. In all the forehead is broad, more so than in any other people I have hitherto seen. Their eyes are very beautiful and not small, and themselves far from black, but the color of the Canarians. Nor should anything else be expected, as this island is in a line E. and W. from the island of Hierro in the Canaries. Their legs are very straight, all in one line, and no belly, but very well formed. They came to the ship in small canoes, made out of the trunk of a tree like a long boat, and all of one piece, and wonderfully worked, considering the country. They are large, some of them holding forty to forty-five men, others smaller, and some only large enough to hold one man. They are propelled with a paddle like a baker's shovel, and go at a marvellous rate. If the canoe capsizes they all promptly begin to swim, and to bale it out with calabashes that they take with them. They brought skeins of cotton thread, parrots, darts, and other small things which it would be tedious to recount, and they give all in exchange for anything that may be given to them. I was attentive, and took trouble to ascertain if there was gold. I saw that some of them had a small piece fastened in a hole they have in the nose, and by signs I was able to make out that to the S., or going from the island to the S., there was a king who had great cups full, and who possessed a great quantity. I tried to get them to go there, but afterwards

I saw that they had no inclination. I resolved to wait until to-morrow in the afternoon and then to depart, shaping a course to the S. W., for, according to what many of them told me, there was land to the S., to the S. W., and N. W., and that the natives from the N. W. often came to attack them, and went on to the S. W. in search of gold and precious stones.

"This island is rather large and very flat, with bright green trees, much water, and a very large lake in the centre, without any mountain, and the whole land so green that it is a pleasure to look on it. The people are very docile, and for the longing to possess our things, and not having anything to give in return, they take what they can get, and presently swim away. Still, they give away all they have got, for whatever may be given to them, down to broken bits of crockery and glass. I saw one give sixteen skeins of cotton for three *ceotis* of Portugal, equal to one *blanca* of Spain, the skeins being as much as an *arroba* of cotton thread. I shall keep it, and shall allow no one to take it, preserving it all for your Highnesses, for it may be obtained in abundance. It is grown in this island, though the short time did not admit of my ascertaining this for a certainty. Here also is found the gold they wear fastened in their noses. But, in order not to lose time, I intend to go and see if I can find the island of Cipango. Now, as it is night, all the natives have gone on shore with their canoes."

Sunday, 14th of October.

"At dawn I ordered the ship's boat and the boats of the caravels to be got ready, and I went along the coast of the island to the N. N. E., to see the other side, which was on the other side to the E., and also to see the villages. Presently I saw two or three, and the people all came to the shore, calling out and giving thanks to God. Some of them brought us water, others came with food, and when they saw that I did not want to land, they got into the sea,

and came swimming to us. We understood that they asked us if we had come from heaven. One old man came into the boat, and others cried out, in loud voices, to all the men and women, to come and see the men who had come from heaven, and to bring them to eat and drink. Many came, including women, each bringing something, giving thanks to God, throwing themselves on the ground and shouting to us to come on shore. But I was afraid to land, seeing an extensive reef of rocks which surrounded the island, with deep water between it and the shore forming a port large enough for as many ships as there are in Christendom, but with a very narrow entrance. It is true that within this reef there are some sunken rocks, but the sea has no more motion than the water in a well. In order to see all this I went this morning, that I might be able to give a full account to your Highnesses, and also where a fortress might be established. I saw a piece of land which appeared like an island, although it is not one, and on it there were six houses. It might be converted into an island in two days, though I do not see that it would be necessary, for these people are very simple as regards the use of arms, as your Highnesses will see from the seven that I caused to be taken, to bring home and learn our language and return; unless your Highnesses should order them all to be brought to Castille, or to be kept as captives on the same island; for with fifty men they can all be subjugated and made to do what is required of them. Close to the above peninsula there are gardens of the most beautiful trees I ever saw, and with leaves as green as those of Castille in the months of April and May, and much water. I examined all that port, and afterwards I returned to the ship and made sail. I saw so many islands that I hardly knew how to determine to which I should go first. Those natives I had with me said, by signs, that there were so many that they could not be numbered, and they gave the names of more than a hundred. At last I looked out for the largest, and resolved to shape a course for it, and so I did. It will be

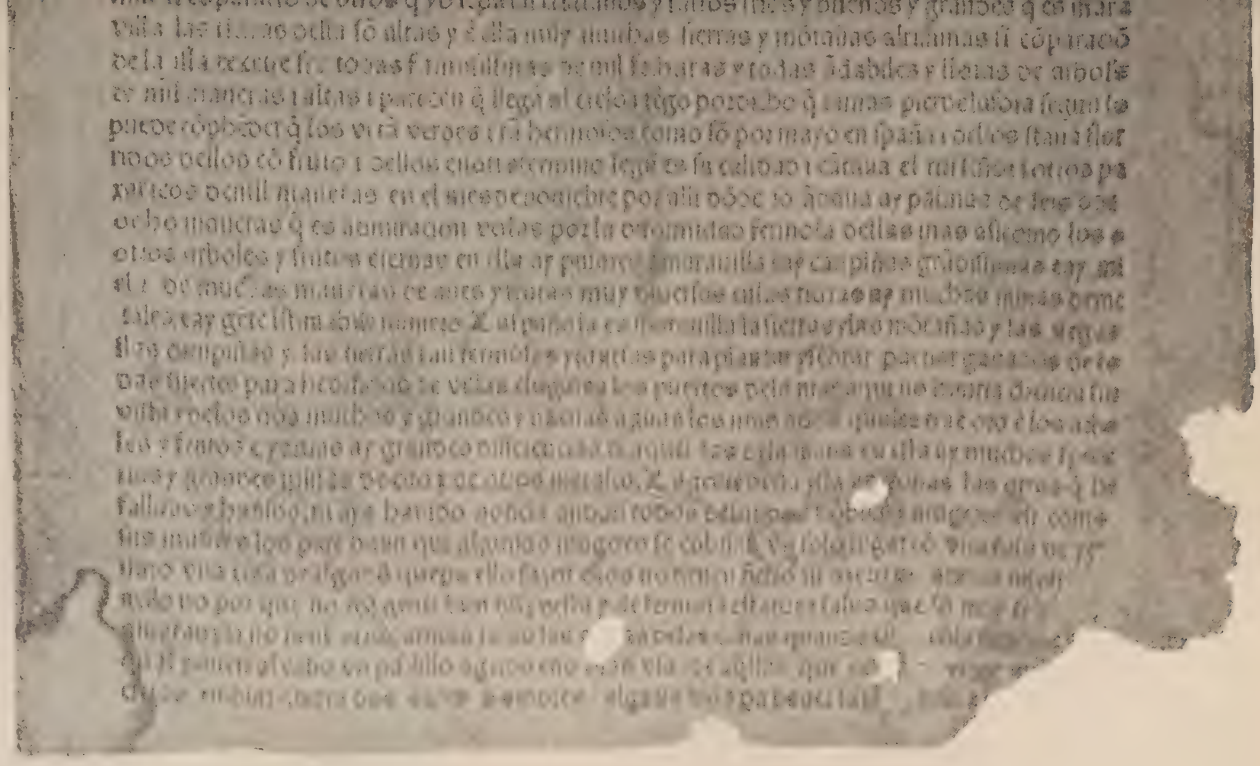
distant five leagues from this of *San Salvador*, and the others some more, some less. All are very flat, and all are inhabited. The natives make war on each other, although these are very simple-minded and handsomely-formed people."

Monday, 15th of October.

"I had lain by during the night, with the fear of reaching the land to anchor before daylight, not knowing whether the coast was clear of rocks, and at dawn I made sail. As the island was more than five leagues distant and nearer seven, and the tide checked my way, it was noon when we arrived at the said island. I found that side facing towards the island of San Salvador trended N. and S. with a length of five leagues, and the other which I followed ran E. and W. for more than ten leagues. As from this island I saw another larger one to the W., I clued up the sails, after having run all that day until night, otherwise I could not have reached the western cape. I gave the name of *Santa Maria de la Concepcion* to the island, and almost as the sun set I anchored near the said cape to ascertain if it contained gold. For the people I had taken from the island of San Salvador told me that here they wore very large rings of gold on their arms and legs. I really believed that all they said was nonsense, invented that they might escape. My desire was not to pass any island without taking possession, so that, one having been taken, the same may be said of all. I anchored, and remained until to-day, Tuesday, when I went to the shore with the boats armed, and landed. The people, who were numerous, went naked, and were like those of the other island of San Salvador. They let us go over the island, and gave us what we required. As the wind changed to the S. E., I did not like to stay, and returned to the ship. A large canoe was alongside the *Niña*, and one of the men of the island of San Salvador, who was on board, jumped into the sea and got into the canoe. In the middle of the night before, another swam away behind

the canoe, which fled, for there never was boat that could have overtaken her, seeing that in speed they have a great advantage. So they reached the land and left the canoe. Some of my people went on shore in chase of them, but they all fled like fowls, and the canoe they had left was brought alongside the caravel *Niña*, whither, from another direction, another small canoe came, with a man who wished to barter with skeins of cotton. Some sailors jumped into the sea, because he would not come on board the caravel, and seized him. I was on the poop of my ship, and saw everything. So I sent for the man, gave him a red cap, some small beads of green glass, which I put on his arms, and small bells, which I put in his ears, and ordered his canoe, which was also on board, to be returned to him. I sent him on shore, and presently made sail to go to the other large island which was in sight to the westward. I also ordered the other large canoe, which the caravel *Niña* was towing astern, to be cast adrift; and I soon saw that it reached the land at the same time as the man to whom I had given the above things. I had not wished to take the skein of cotton that he offered me. All the others came round him and seemed astonished, for it appeared clear to them that we were good people. The other man who had fled might do us some harm, because we had carried him off, and for that reason I ordered this man to be set free and gave him the above things, that he might think well of us, otherwise, when your Highnesses again send an expedition, they might not be friendly. All the presents I gave were not worth four maravedis. At ten we departed with the wind S. W., and made for the S., to reach that other island, which is very large, and respecting which all the men that I bring from San Salvador make signs that there is much gold, and that they wear it as bracelets on the arms, on the legs, in the ears and nose, and round the neck. The distance of this island from that of Santa Maria is nine leagues on a course E. to W. All this part of the island trends N. W. and S. E., and it appeared that this coast

SEÑOR porque se que aureis plazer dela grand vitoria que nuestro señor me
ha dado en mi viaje vos escrivo esta por la q̃l sabreys como en veinte dias pase A
las idias cō la armada q̃ los illustrissimos Rey e Reyna ñros señores me dieron
dōde yo falle muy muchas Islas pobladas cō gente sin numero: y dellas todas
he tomado posesion por sus altezas con pregon y uādera real estendida y non me fu
e cōtradicho Ala primera q̃ yo falle puse nonbre sant saluador a comemoracion desu alta mages
tat el qual marauillosamente de todo esto andado los idios la llaman guanahan Ala segūda
puse nonbre la isla de santa maria deconcepcion ala tercera ferrandina ala quarta la isla bella
ala quinta la Isla Juana e asi a cada vna nonbre nueuo Quando yo llegue ala Juana seg
uido la costa della al poniente y la falle tan grande q̃ pense que sera tierra firme la prouincia de
catayo y como no falle asi villas y lugares enla costa dela mar saluo pequeñas poblaciones
con la gente delas q̃ules no podia hauer fabla porque luego fazan todos: andaua yo a de
lante por el dicho camino pensado de no errar grādes Ciudades o villas y al cabo de muchas
leguas visto q̃ no hauia inouaciō i que la costa me leuaua al setētrion de adōde mi voluntad
era cōtraria porq̃ el yuierno era ya ēcarnado yo tenia proposito de hazer del al austro y tan biē
el viēto medio adelāte determine de no aguardar otro tiēpo y bolui atras fasta vn señalado puer
to de adōde ēbie dos hōbres por la tierra para saber si hauia Rey o grādes Ciudades ādoui
erō tres iornadas y hallarō īfinitas poblaciones pequeñas i gēte sin numero mas no cosa de leg
imiēto por lo qual se bolueró yo entēdia harto de otros īdios q̃ ia tenia tomados como conti
nuamente esta tierra era Isla e asi segui la costa della al oriēte ciento i siete leguas fasta dōde fa
zia fin: del qual cabo vi otra Isla al oriēte distincta de esta diez o ocho leguas ala qual luego



The first page of the folio edition of the Spanish text of Columbus's first letter to Luis de Santangel, dated February 15, 1493. This is the cornerstone of Americana and the earliest publication in any way relating to the New World. *After the unique original, printed in Barcelona early in April, 1493, in the collection of the late Bernard Quaritch.*

must have a length of twenty-eight leagues. It is very flat, without any mountain, like San Salvador and Santa Maria, all being beach without rocks, except that there are some sunken rocks near the land, whence it is necessary to keep a good lookout when it is desired to anchor, and not to come to very near the land; but the water is always very clear, and the bottom is visible. At a distance of two shots of a lombard, there is, off all these islands, such a depth that the bottom cannot be reached. These islands are very green and fertile, the climate very mild. They may contain many things of which I have no knowledge, for I do not wish to stop, in discovering and visiting many islands, to find gold. These people make signs that it is worn on the arms and legs; and it must be gold, for they point to some pieces that I have. I cannot err, with the help of our Lord, in finding out where this gold has its origin. Being in the middle of the channel between these two islands, that is to say, that of Santa Maria and this large one, to which I give the name of *Fernandina*, I came upon a man alone in a canoe going from Santa Maria to Fernandina. He had a little of their bread, about the size of a fist, a calabash of water, a piece of brown earth powdered and then kneaded, and some dried leaves, which must be a thing highly valued by them, for they bartered with it at San Salvador. He also had with him a native basket with a string of glass beads, and two *blancas*, by which I knew that he had come from the island of San Salvador, and had been to Santa Maria, and thence to Fernandina. He came alongside the ship, and I made him come on board as he desired, also getting the canoe inboard, and taking care of all his property. I ordered him to be given to eat bread and treacle, and also to drink: and so I shall take him on to Fernandina, where I shall return everything to him, in order that he may give a good account of us, that, our Lord pleasing, when your Highnesses shall send here, those who come may receive honor, and that the natives may give them all they require."

Tuesday, 16th of October.

"I sailed from the island of Santa Maria de la Concepcion at about noon, to go to Fernandina island, which appeared very large to the westward, and I navigated all that day with light winds. I could not arrive in time to be able to see the bottom, so as to drop the anchor on a clear place, for it is necessary to be very careful not to lose the anchors. So I stood off and on all that night until day, when I came to an inhabited place where I anchored, and whence that man had come that I found yesterday in the canoe in mid-channel. He had given such a good report of us that there was no want of canoes alongside the ship all that night, which brought us water and what they had to offer. I ordered each one to be given something, such as a few beads, ten or twelve of those made of glass on a thread, some timbrels made of brass such as are worth a maravedi in Spain, and some straps, all which they looked upon as most excellent. I also ordered them to be given treacle to eat when they came on board. At three o'clock I sent the ship's boat on shore for water, and the natives with good will showed my people where the water was, and they themselves brought the full casks down to the boat, and did all they could to please us.

"This island is very large, and I have determined to sail round it, because, so far as I can understand, there is a mine in or near it. The island is eight leagues from Santa Maria, nearly E. and W.; and this point I had reached, as well as all the coast, trends N. N. W. and S. S. E. I saw at least twenty leagues of it, and then it had not ended. Now, as I am writing this, I made sail with the wind at the S., to sail round the island, and to navigate until I find *Samaot*, which is the island or city where there is gold, as all the natives say who are on board, and as those of San Salvador and Santa Maria told us. These people resemble those of the said islands, with the same language and customs, except that these appear to me a rather more domestic and tractable people, yet also more subtle. For I observed

that those who brought cotton and other trifles to the ship knew better than the others how to make a bargain. In this island I saw cotton cloths made like mantles. The people were better disposed, and the women wore in front of their bodies a small piece of cotton which scarcely covered them.

"It is a very green island, level and very fertile, and I have no doubt that they sow and gather corn all the year round, as well as other things. I saw many trees very unlike those of our country. Many of them have their branches growing in different ways and all from one trunk, and one twig is one form, and another in a different shape, and so unlike that it is the greatest wonder in the world to see the great diversity; thus one branch has leaves like those of a cane, and others like those of a mastick tree: and on a single tree there are five or six different kinds. Nor are these grafted, for it may be said that grafting is unknown, the trees being wild, and untended by these people. They do not know any religion, and I believe they could easily be converted to Christianity, for they are very intelligent. Here the fish are so unlike ours that it is wonderful. Some are the shape of dories, and of the finest colors in the world, blue, yellow, red, and other tints, all painted in various ways, and the colors are so bright that there is not a man who would not be astonished, and would not take great delight in seeing them. There are also whales. I saw no beasts on the land of any kind, except parrots and lizards. A boy told me that he saw a large serpent. I saw neither sheep, nor goats, nor any other quadruped. It is true I have been here a short time, since noon, yet I could not have failed to see some if there had been any. I will write respecting the circuit of this island after I have been round it."

Wednesday, 17th of October.

"At noon I departed from the village off which I was anchored, and where I took in water, to sail round this

island of Fernandina. The wind was S. W. and S. My wish was to follow the coast of this island to the S. E., from where I was, the whole coast trending N. N. W. and S. S. E.; because all the Indians I bring with me, and others, made signs to this southern quarter, as the direction of the island they call Samaot, where the gold is. Martin Alonso Pinzon, captain of the caravel *Pinta*, on board of which I had three of the Indians, came to me and said that one of them had given him to understand very positively that the island might be sailed round much quicker by shaping a N. N. W. course. I saw that the wind would not help me to take the course I desired, and that it was fair for the other, so I made sail to the N. N. W. When I was two leagues from the cape of the island, I discovered a very wonderful harbor. It has one mouth, or, rather, it may be said to have two, for there is an islet in the middle. Both are very narrow, and within it is wide enough for a hundred ships, if there was depth and a clean bottom, and the entrance was deep enough. It seemed desirable to explore it and take soundings, so I anchored outside, and went in with all the ship's boats, when we saw there was insufficient depth. As I thought, when I first saw it, that it was the mouth of some river, I ordered the water casks to be brought. On shore I found eight or ten men, who presently came to us and showed us the village, whither I sent the people for water, some with arms, and others with the casks: and, as it was some little distance, I waited two hours for them.

"During that time I walked among the trees, which was the most beautiful thing I had ever seen, beholding as much verdure as in the month of May in Andalusia. The trees are as unlike ours as night from day, as are the fruits, the herbs, the stones, and everything. It is true that some of the trees bore some resemblance to those in Castille, but most of them are very different, and some were so unlike that no one could compare them to anything in Castille. The people were all like those already mentioned: like

them naked, and the same size. They give what they possess in exchange for anything that may be given to them. I here saw some of the ship's boys bartering broken bits of glass and crockery for darts. The men who went for water told me that they had been in the houses of the natives, and that they were very plain and clean inside. Their beds and bags for holding things were like nets of cotton. The houses are like booths, and very high, with good chimneys. But, among many villages that I saw, there was none that consisted of more than from twelve to fifteen houses. Here they found that the married women wore clouts of cotton, but not the young girls, except a few who were over eighteen years of age. They had dogs, mastiffs and hounds, and here they found a man who had a piece of gold in his nose, the size of half a *castellano*, on which they saw letters. I quarrelled with these people because they would not exchange or give what was required; as I wished to see what and whose this money was; and they replied that they were not accustomed to barter.

"After the water was taken I returned to the ship, made sail, and shaped a course N. W., until I had discovered all the part of the coast of the island which trends E. to W. Then all the Indians turned round and said that this island was smaller than Samaot, and that it would be well to turn back so as to reach it sooner. The wind presently went down, and then sprang up from W. N. W., which was contrary for us to continue on the previous course. So I turned back, and navigated all that night to E. S. E., sometimes to E. and to S. E. This course was steered to keep me clear of the land, for there were very heavy clouds and thick weather, which did not admit of my approaching the land to anchor. On that night it rained very heavily from midnight until nearly dawn, and even afterwards the clouds threatened rain. We found ourselves at the S. W. end of the island, where I hoped to anchor until it cleared up, so as to see the other island whither I have to go. On all

these days, since I arrived in these Indies, it has rained more or less. Your Highnesses may believe that this land is the best and most fertile, and with a good climate, level, and as good as there is in the world."

Thursday, 18th of October.

"After it had cleared up I went before the wind, approaching the island as near as I could, and anchored when it was no longer light enough to keep under sail. But I did not go on shore, and made sail at dawn. . . ."

Friday, 19th of October.

"I weighed the anchors at daylight, sending the caravel *Pinta* on an E. S. E. course, the caravel *Niña* S. S. E., while I shaped a S. E. course, giving orders that these courses were to be steered until noon, and that then the two caravels should alter course so as to join company with me. Before we had sailed for three hours we saw an island to the E., for which we steered, and all three vessels arrived at the north point before noon. Here there is an islet, and a reef of rocks to seaward of it, besides one between the islet and the large island. The men of San Salvador, whom I bring with me, called it *Saomete*, and I gave it the name of *Isabella*. The wind was N., and the said islet bore from the island of Fernandina, whence I had taken my departure, E. and W. Afterwards we ran along the coast of the island, westward from the islet, and found its length to be twelve leagues as far as a cape, which I named *Cabo Hermoso*, at the western end. The island is beautiful, and the coast very deep, without sunken rocks off it. Outside the shore is rocky, but further in there is a sandy beach, and here I anchored on that Friday night until morning. This coast and the part of the island I saw is almost flat, and the island is very beautiful; for if the other islands are lovely, this is more so. It has many very green trees, which are very large. The land is higher than in the other islands, and in it there are some hills, which

cannot be called mountains; and it appears that there is much water inland. From this point to the N. E. the coast makes a great angle, and there are many thick and extensive groves. I wanted to go and anchor there, so as to go on shore and see so much beauty; but the water was shallow, and we could only anchor at a distance from the land. The wind also was fair for going to this cape, where I am now anchored, to which I gave the name of Cabo Hermoso, because it is so. Thus it was that I do not anchor in that angle, but as I saw this cape so green and so beautiful, like all the other lands of these islands, I scarcely knew which to visit first; for I can never tire my eyes in looking at such lovely vegetation, so different from ours. I believe that there are many herbs and many trees that are worth much in Europe for dyes and for medicines; but I do not know, and this causes me great sorrow. Arriving at this cape, I found the smell of the trees and flowers so delicious that it seemed the pleasantest thing in the world. To-morrow, before I leave this place, I shall go on shore to see what there is at this cape. There are no people, but there are villages in the interior, where, the Indians I bring with me say, there is a king who has much gold. To-morrow I intend to go so far inland as to find the village, and see and have some speech with this king, who, according to the signs they make, rules over all the neighboring islands, goes about clothed, and wears much gold on his person. I do not give much faith to what they say, as well because I do not understand them as because they are so poor in gold that even a little that this king may have would appear much to them. This cape, to which I have given the name of Cabo Hermoso, is, I believe, on an island separated from Saomete, and there is another small islet between them. I did not try to examine them in detail, because it could not be done in fifty years. For my desire is to see and discover as much as I can before returning to your Highnesses, our Lord willing, in April. It is true that in the event of finding places where there is gold or spices

in quantity I should stop until I had collected as much as I could. I, therefore, proceed in the hope of coming across such places."

Saturday, 20th of October.

"To-day, at sunrise, I weighed the anchors from where I was with the ship, and anchored off the S. W. point of the island of Saomete, to which I gave the name of *Cabo de la Laguna*, and to the island Isabella. My intention was to navigate to the N. E. and E. from the S. E. and S., where, I understood from the Indians I brought with me, was the village of the king. I found the sea so shallow that I could not enter nor navigate in it, and I saw that to follow a route by the S. E. would be a great round. So I determined to return by the route that I had taken from the N. N. E. to the western part, and to sail round this island to . . .

"I had so little wind that I never could sail along the coast, except during the night. As it was dangerous to anchor off these islands except in the day, when one can see where to let go the anchor,—for the bottom is all in patches, some clear and some rocky,—I lay to all this Sunday night. The caravels anchored because they found themselves near the shore, and they thought that, owing to the signals that they were in the habit of making, I would come to anchor, but I did not wish to do so."

Sunday, 21st of October.

"At ten o'clock I arrived here, off this islet, and anchored, as well as the caravels. After breakfast I went on shore, and found only one house, in which there was no one, and I supposed they had fled from fear, because all their property was left in the house. I would not allow anything to be touched, but set out with the captains and people to explore the island. If the others already seen are very beautiful, green, and fertile, this is much more so, with large trees and very green. Here there are large lagoons with wonderful vegetation on their banks. Throughout the island

all is green, and the herbage like April in Andalusia. The songs of the birds were so pleasant that it seemed as if a man could never wish to leave the place. The flocks of parrots concealed the sun; and the birds were so numerous, and of so many different kinds, that it was wonderful. There are trees of a thousand sorts, and all have their several fruits; and I feel the most unhappy man in the world not to know them, for I am well assured that they are all valuable. I bring home specimens of them, and also of the land. Thus walking along round one of the lakes I saw a serpent, which we killed, and I bring home the skin for your Highnesses. As soon as it saw us it went into the lagoon, and we followed, as the water was not very deep, until we killed it with lances. It is seven *palmos* long, and I believe that there are many like it in these lagoons. Here I came upon some aloes, and I have determined to take ten quintals on board to-morrow, for they tell me that they are worth a good deal. Also, while in search of good water, we came to a village about half a league from our anchorage. The people, as soon as they heard us, all fled and left their houses, hiding their property in the wood. I would not allow a thing to be touched, even the value of a pin. Presently some men among them came to us, and one came quite close. I gave him some bells and glass beads, which made him very content and happy. That our friendship might be further increased, I resolved to ask him for something; I requested him to get some water. After I had gone on board, the natives came to the beach with calabashes full of water, and they delighted much in giving it to us. I ordered another string of glass beads to be presented to them, and they said they would come again to-morrow. I wished to fill up all the ships with water at this place, and, if there should be time, I intended to search the island until I had had speech with the king, and seen whether he had the gold of which I had heard. I shall then shape a course for another much larger island, which I believe to be Cipango, judging from the signs made by the Indians I

bring with me. They call it *Cuba*, and they say that there are ships and many skilful sailors there. Beyond this island there is another called *Bosio*, which they also say is very large, and others we shall see as we pass, lying between. According as I obtain tidings of gold or spices I shall settle what should be done. I am still resolved to go to the mainland and the city of Guinsay, and to deliver the letters of your Highnesses to the Gran Can, requesting a reply and returning with it."

Monday, 22nd of October.

"All last night and to-day I was here, waiting to see if the king or other person would bring gold or anything of value. Many of these people came, like those of the other islands, equally naked, and equally painted, some white, some red, some black, and others in many ways. They brought darts and skeins of cotton to barter, which they exchanged with the sailors for bits of glass, broken crockery, and pieces of earthenware. Some of them had pieces of gold fastened in their noses, which they willingly gave for a hawk's bell and glass beads. But there was so little that it counts for nothing. It is true that they looked upon any little thing that I gave them as a wonder, and they held our arrival to be a great marvel, believing that we came from heaven. We got water for the ships from a lagoon which is near the *Cabo del Isleo* [Cape of the Islet], as we named it. In the said lagoon Martin Alonso Pinzon, captain of the *Pinta*, killed another serpent seven *palmos* long, like the one we got yesterday. I made them gather here as much of the aloe as they could find."

Tuesday, 23rd of October.

"I desired to set out to-day for the island of Cuba, which I think must be Cipango, according to the signs these people make indicative of its size and riches, and I did not delay any more here nor . . . round this island to the residence of this king or lord, and have speech with him, as I

had intended. This would cause me much delay, and I see that there is no gold mine here. To sail round would need several winds, for it does not blow here as men may wish. It is better to go where there is great entertainment, so I say that it is not reasonable to wait, but rather to continue the voyage and inspect much land, until some very profitable country is reached, my belief being that it will be rich in spices. That I have no personal knowledge of these products causes me the greatest sorrow in the world, for I see a thousand kinds of trees, each one with its own special fruit, all green now as in Spain during the months of May and June, as well as a thousand kinds of herbs with their flowers; yet I know none of them except this aloe, of which I ordered a quantity to be brought on board to bring to your Highnesses. I have not made sail for Cuba, because there is no wind, but a dead calm with much rain. It rained a great deal yesterday without causing any cold. On the contrary, the days are hot and the nights cool, like May in Andalusia."

Wednesday, 24th of October.

"At midnight I weighed the anchors and left the anchorage at Cabo del Isleo, in the island of Isabella. From the northern side, where I was, I intended to go to the island of Cuba, where I heard of the people who were very great, and had gold, spices, merchandise, and large ships. They showed me that the course thither would be W. S. W., and so I hold. For I believe that it is so, as all the Indians of these islands, as well as those I brought with me in the ships, told me by signs. I cannot understand their language, but I believe that it is of the island of Cipango that they recount these wonders. On the spheres I saw, and on the delineations of the map of the world, Cipango is in this region. So I shaped a course W. S. W. until daylight, but at dawn it fell calm and began to rain, and went on nearly all night. I remained thus, with little wind, until the afternoon, when it began to blow fresh. I set all the sails in the

ship, the mainsail with two bonnets, the foresail, spritsail, mizzen, main topsail, and the boat's sail on the poop. So I proceeded until nightfall, when the *Cabo Verde* of the island of Fernandina, which is at the S. W. end, bore N. W. distant seven leagues. As it was now blowing hard, and I did not know how far it was to this island of Cuba, I resolved not to go in search of it during the night; all these islands being very steep-to, with no bottom round them for a distance of two shots of a lombard. The bottom is all in patches, one bit of sand and another of rock, and for this reason it is not safe to anchor without inspection with the eye. So I determined to take in all the sails except the foresail, and to go on under that reduced canvas. Soon the wind increased, while the route was doubtful, and there was very thick weather, with rain. I ordered the foresail to be furled, and we did not make two leagues during the night."

Thursday, 25th of October.

"I steered W. S. W. from after sunset until nine o'clock, making five leagues. Afterwards I altered course to W., and went eight miles an hour until one in the afternoon; and from that time until three made good forty-four miles. Then land was sighted, consisting of seven or eight islands, the group running N. and S., distant from us five leagues."

Friday, 26th of October.

"The ship was on the S. side of the islands, which were all low, distant five or six leagues. I anchored there. The Indians on board said that thence to Cuba was a voyage in their canoes of a day and a half; these being small dugouts without a sail. Such are their canoes. I departed thence for Cuba, for by the signs the Indians made of its greatness, and of its gold and pearls, I thought that it must be Cipango."

Saturday, 27th of October.

"I weighed from these islands at sunrise, and gave them the name of *Las Islas de Arena*, owing to the little depth the

sea had for a distance of six leagues to the southward of them. We went eight miles an hour on a S. S. W. course until one o'clock, having made forty miles. Until night we had run twenty-eight miles on the same course, and before dark the land was sighted. At night there was much rain. The vessels, on Saturday until sunset, made seventeen leagues on a S. S. W. course."

Sunday, 28th of October.

"I went thence in search of the island of Cuba on a S. S. W. coast, making for the nearest point of it, and entered a very beautiful river without danger of sunken rocks or other impediments. All the coast was clear of dangers up to the shore. The mouth of the river was twelve *brazos* across, and it is wide enough for a vessel to beat in. I anchored about a lombard-shot inside." The Admiral says that "he never beheld such a beautiful place, with trees bordering the river, handsome, green, and different from ours, having fruits and flowers each one according to its nature. There are many birds, which sing very sweetly. There are a great number of palm trees of a different kind from those in Guinea and from ours, of a middling height, the trunks without that covering [bark], and the leaves very large, with which they thatch their houses. The country is very level." The Admiral jumped into his boat and went on shore. He came to two houses, which he believed to belong to fishermen who had fled from fear. In one of them he found a kind of dog that never barks, and in both there were nets of palm fibre and cordage, as well as horn fishhooks, bone harpoons, and other apparatus "for fishing, and several hearths. He believed that many people lived together in one house. He gave orders that nothing in the houses should be touched, and so it was done." The herbage was as thick as in Andalusia during April and May. He found much purslane and wild amaranth. He returned to the boat and went up the river for some distance, and he says it was great pleasure to see the bright verdure, and the

birds, which he could not leave to go back. He says that this island is the most beautiful that eyes have seen, full of good harbors and deep rivers, and the sea appeared as if it never rose; for the herbage on the beach nearly reached the waves, which does not happen where the sea is rough. [Up to that time they had not experienced a rough sea among all those islands.] He says that the island is full of very beautiful mountains, although they are not very extensive as regards length, but high; and all the country is high like Sicily. It is abundantly supplied with water, as they gathered from the Indians they had taken with them from the island of Guanahani. These said by signs that there are ten great rivers, and that they cannot go round the island in twenty days. When they came near land with the ships, two canoes came out; and when they saw the sailors get into a boat and row about to find the depth of the river where they could anchor, the canoes fled. The Indians say that in this land there are gold mines and pearls, and the Admiral saw a likely place for them and mussel shells, which are signs of them. He understood that large ships of the Gran Can came here, and that from here to the mainland was a voyage of ten days. The Admiral called this river and harbor *San Salvador*.

Monday, 29th of October.

The Admiral weighed anchor from this port and sailed to the westward, to go to the city, where, as it seemed, the Indians said that there was a king. They doubled a point six leagues to the N. W., and then another point, then E. ten leagues. After another league he saw a river with no very large entrance, to which he gave the name of *Rio de la Luna*. He went on until the hour of vespers. He saw another river much larger than the others, as the Indians told him by signs, and near he saw goodly villages of houses. He called the river *Rio de Mares*. He sent two boats on shore to a village to communicate, and one of the Indians he had brought with him, for now they understood a little,

and showed themselves content with the Christians. All the men, women, and children fled, abandoning their houses with all they contained. The Admiral gave orders that nothing should be touched. The houses were better than those he had seen before, and he believed that the houses would improve as he approached the mainland. They were made like booths, very large, and looking like tents in a camp without regular streets, but one here and another there. Within they were clean and well swept, with the furniture well made. All are of palm branches beautifully constructed. They found many images in the shape of women, and many heads like masks, very well carved. It was not known whether these were used as ornaments, or to be worshipped. They had dogs which never bark, and wild birds tamed in their houses. There was a wonderful supply of nets and other fishing implements, but nothing was touched. He believed that all the people on the coast were fishermen, who took the fish inland, for this island is very large, and so beautiful, that he is never tired of praising it. He says that he found trees and fruits of very marvellous taste; and adds that they must have cows or other cattle, for he saw skulls which were like those of cows. The songs of the birds and the chirping of crickets throughout the night lulled everyone to rest, while the air was soft and healthy, and the nights neither hot nor cold. On the voyage through the other islands there was great heat, but here it is tempered like the month of May. He attributed the heat of the other islands to their flatness, and to the wind coming from the E., which is hot. The water of the rivers was salt at the mouth, and they did not know whence the natives got their drinking water, though they have sweet water in their houses. Ships are able to turn in this river, both entering and coming out, and there are very good leading marks. He says that all this sea appears to be constantly smooth, like the river at Seville, and the water suitable for the growth of pearls. He found large shells, unlike those of Spain. Remarking on the position

of the river and port, to which he gave the name of San Salvador, he describes its mountains as lofty and beautiful, like the *Peña de las Enamoradas*, and one of them has another little hill on its summit, like a graceful mosque. The other river and port, in which he now was, has two round mountains to the S. W., and a fine low cape running out to the W. S. W.

Tuesday, 30th of October.

He left the Rio de Mares and steered N. W., seeing a cape covered with palm trees, to which he gave the name of *Cabo de Palmas*, after having made good fifteen leagues. The Indians on board the caravel *Pinta* said that beyond that cape there was a river, and that from the river to Cuba it was four days' journey. The captain of the *Pinta* reported that he understood from that that this Cuba was a city, and that the land was a great continent trending far to the north. The king of that country, he gathered, was at war with the Gran Can, whom they called *Cami*, and his land or city *Fava*, with many other names. The Admiral resolved to proceed to that river, and to send a present, with the letter of the Sovereigns, to the king of that land. For this service there was a sailor who had been to Guinea, and some of the Indians of Guanahani wished to go with him, and afterwards to return to their homes. The Admiral calculated that he was forty-two degrees to the north of the equinoctial line [but the handwriting is here illegible]. He says that he must attempt to reach the Gran Can, who he thought was here or at the city of Cathay, which belongs to him, and is very grand, as he was informed before leaving Spain. All this land, he adds, is low and beautiful, and the sea deep.

Wednesday, 31st of October.

All Tuesday night he was beating to windward, and he saw a river, but could not enter it because the entrance was narrow. The Indians fancied that the ships could enter

wherever their canoes could go. Navigating onwards, he came to a cape running out very far, and surrounded by sunken rocks, and he saw a bay where small vessels might take shelter. He could not proceed because the wind had come round to the N., and all the coast runs N. W. and S. E. Another cape further on ran out still more. For these reasons, and because the sky showed signs of a gale, he had to return to the Rio de Mares.

Thursday, 1st of November.

At sunrise the Admiral sent the boats on shore to the houses that were there, and they found that all the people had fled. After some time a man made his appearance. The Admiral ordered that he should be left to himself, and the sailors returned to the boats. After dinner, one of the Indians on board was sent on shore. He called out from a distance that there was nothing to fear, because the strangers were good people and would do no harm to anyone, nor were they people of the Gran Can, but they had given away their things in many islands where they had been. The Indian then swam on shore, and two of the natives took him by the arms and brought him to a house, where they heard what he had to say. When they were certain that no harm would be done to them they were reassured, and presently more than sixteen canoes came to the ships with cotton thread and other trifles. The Admiral ordered that nothing should be taken from them, that they might understand that he sought for nothing but gold, which they call *nucay*. Thus they went to and fro between the ships and the shore all day, and they came to the Christians on shore with confidence. The Admiral saw no gold whatever among them, but he says that he saw one of them with a piece of worked silver fastened to his nose. They said, by signs, that within three days many merchants from inland would come to buy the things brought by the Christians, and would give information respecting the king of that land. So far as could be understood from their signs, he resided

at a distance of four days' journey. They had sent many messengers in all directions, with news of the arrival of the Admiral. "These people," says the Admiral, "are of the same appearance and have the same customs as those of the other islands, without any religion so far as I know, for up to this day I have never seen the Indians on board say any prayer; though they repeat the *Salve* and *Ave Maria* with their hands raised to heaven, and they make the sign of the cross. The language is also the same, and they are all friends; but I believe that all these islands are at war with the Gran Can, whom they called *Cavila*, and his province *Bafan*. They all go naked like the others." This is what the Admiral says. "The river," he adds, "is very deep, and the ships can enter the mouth, going close to the shore. The sweet water does not come within a league of the mouth. It is certain," says the Admiral, "that this is the mainland, and that I am in front of Zayto and Guinsay, a hundred leagues, a little more or less, distant the one from the other. It is very clear that no one before has been so far as this by sea. Yesterday, with wind from the N. W., I found it cold."

Friday, 2nd of November.

The Admiral decided upon sending two Spaniards, one named Rodrigo de Jerez, who lived in Ayamonte, and the other Luis de Torres, who had served in the household of the Adelantado of Murcia, and had been a Jew, knowing Hebrew, Chaldee, and even some Arabic. With these men he sent two Indians, one from among those he had brought from Guanahani, and another a native of the houses by the riverside. He gave them strings of beads with which to buy food if they should be in need, and ordered them to return in six days. He gave them specimens of spices, to see if any were to be found. Their instructions were to ask for the king of that land, and they were told what to say on the part of the Sovereigns of Castille, how they had sent the Admiral with letters and a

present, to inquire after his health and establish friendship, favoring him in what he might desire from them. They were to collect information respecting certain provinces, ports, and rivers of which the Admiral had notice, and ascertain their distances from where he was.

This night the Admiral took an altitude with a quadrant, and found that the distance from the equinoctial line was forty-two degrees. He says that, by his reckoning, he finds that he was gone over one thousand one hundred and forty-two leagues from the island of Hierro. He still believes that he has reached the mainland.

Saturday, 3rd of November.

In the morning the Admiral got into the boat, and, as the river is like a great lake at the mouth, forming a very excellent port, very deep, and clear of rocks, with a good beach for careening ships, and plenty of fuel, he explored it until he came to fresh water at a distance of two leagues from the mouth. He ascended a small mountain to obtain a view of the surrounding country, but could see nothing, owing to the dense foliage of the trees, which were very fresh and odoriferous, so that he felt no doubt that there were aromatic herbs among them. He said that all he saw was so beautiful that his eyes could never tire of gazing upon such loveliness, nor his ears of listening to the songs of birds. That day many canoes came to the ships, to barter with cotton threads and with the nets in which they sleep, called *hamacas*.

Sunday, 4th of November.

At sunrise the Admiral again went away in the boat, and landed to hunt the birds he had seen the day before. After a time, Martin Alonso Pinzon came to him with two pieces of cinnamon, and said that a Portuguese, who was one of his crew, had seen an Indian carrying two very large bundles of it; but he had not bartered for it, because of the penalty imposed by the Admiral on anyone who bartered. He

further said that this Indian carried some brown things like nutmegs. The master of the *Pinta* said that he had found the cinnamon trees. The Admiral went to the place, and found that they were not cinnamon trees. The Admiral showed the Indians some specimens of cinnamon and pepper he had brought from Castille, and they knew it, and said, by signs, that there was plenty in the vicinity, pointing to the S. E. He also showed them gold and pearls, on which certain old men said that there was an infinite quantity in a place called *Bohio*, and that the people wore it on their necks, ears, arms, and legs, as well as pearls. He further understood them to say that there were great ships and much merchandise, all to the S. E. He also understood that, far away, there were men with one eye, and others with dogs' noses who were cannibals, and that when they captured an enemy they beheaded him and drank his blood.

The Admiral then determined to return to the ship and wait for the return of the two men he had sent, intending to depart and seek for those lands, if his envoys brought some good news touching what he desired. The Admiral further says: "These people are very gentle and timid; they go naked, as I have said, without arms and without law. The country is very fertile. The people have plenty of roots called *zanahorias* [yams], with a smell like chestnuts; and they have beans of kinds very different from ours. They also have much cotton, which they do not sow, as it is wild in the mountains, and I believe they collect it throughout the year, because I saw pods empty, others full, and flowers all on one tree. There are a thousand other kinds of fruits which it is impossible for me to write about, and all must be profitable." All this the Admiral says.

Monday, 5th of November.

This morning the Admiral ordered the ship to be careened, afterwards the other vessels, but not all at the same time. Two were always to be at the anchorage, as a precaution; although he says that these people were very

safe, and that without fear all the vessels might have been careened at the same time. Things being in this state, the master of the *Niña* came to claim a reward from the Admiral because he had found mastick, but he did not bring the specimen, as he had dropped it. The Admiral promised him a reward, and sent Rodrigo Sanchez and Master Diego to the trees. They collected some, which was kept to present to the Sovereigns, as well as the tree. The Admiral says that he knew it was mastick, though it ought to be gathered at the proper season. There is enough in that district for a yield of one thousand quintals every year. The Admiral also found here a great deal of the plant called aloe. He further says that the *Puerto de Mares* is the best in the world, with the finest climate and the most gentle people. As it has a high, rocky cape, a fortress might be built, so that, in the event of the place becoming rich and important, the merchants would be safe from any other nations. He adds: "The Lord, in whose hands are all victories, will ordain all things for his service. An Indian said by signs that the mastick was good for pains in the stomach."

Tuesday, 6th of November.

"Yesterday, at night," says the Admiral, "the two men came back who had been sent to explore the interior. They said that after walking twelve leagues they came to a village of fifty houses, where there were a thousand inhabitants, for many live in one house. These houses are like very large booths. They said that they were received with great solemnity, according to custom, and all, both men and women, came out to see them. They were lodged in the best houses, and the people touched them, kissing their hands and feet, marvelling and believing that they came from heaven, and so they gave them to understand. They gave them to eat of what they had. When they arrived, the chief people conducted them by the arms to the principal house, gave them two chairs on which to sit, and all the natives sat round them on the ground. The Indian

who came with them described the manner of living of the Christians, and said that they were good people. Presently the men went out, and the women came sitting round them in the same way, kissing their hands and feet, and looking to see if they were of flesh and bones like themselves. They begged the Spaniards to remain with them at least five days." The Spaniards showed the natives specimens of cinnamon, pepper, and other spices which the Admiral had given them, and they said, by signs, that there was plenty at a short distance from thence to S. E., but that there they did not know whether there was any. Finding that they had no information respecting cities, the Spaniards returned; and if they had desired to take those who wished to accompany them, more than five hundred men and women would have come, because they thought the Spaniards were returning to heaven. There came, however, a principal man of the village and his son, with a servant. The Admiral conversed with them, and showed them much honor. They made signs respecting many lands and islands in those parts. The Admiral thought of bringing them to the Sovereigns. He says that he knew not what fancy took them; either from fear, or owing to the dark night, they wanted to land. The ship was at the time high and dry, but, not wishing to make them angry, he let them go on their saying that they would return at dawn, but they never came back. The two Christians met with many people on the road going home, men and women with a half-burnt weed in their hands, being the herbs they are accustomed to smoke. They did not find villages on the road of more than five houses, all receiving them with the same reverence. They saw many kinds of trees, herbs, and sweet-smelling flowers; and birds of many different kinds, unlike those of Spain, except the partridges, geese, of which there are many, and singing nightingales. They saw no quadrupeds except the dogs that do not bark. The land is very fertile, and is cultivated with yams and several kinds of beans different from ours, as well as corn. There

were great quantities of cotton gathered, spun, and worked up. In a single house they saw more than five hundred *arrobas*, and as much as four thousand quintals could be yielded every year. The Admiral said that "it did not appear to be cultivated, and that it bore all the year round. It is very fine, and has a large boll. All that was possessed by these people they gave at a very low price, and a great bundle of cotton was exchanged for the point of a needle or other trifle. They are a people," says the Admiral, "guileless and unwarlike. Men and women go as naked as when their mothers bore them. It is true that the women wear a very small rag or cotton cloth, and they are of very good appearance, not very dark, less so than the Canarians. I hold, most serene Princes, that if devout religious persons were here, knowing the language, they would all turn Christians. I trust in our Lord that your Highnesses will resolve upon this with much diligence, to bring so many great nations within the Church, and to convert them; as you have destroyed those who would not confess the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And after your days, all of us being mortal, may your kingdoms remain in peace, and free from heresy and evil, and may you be well received before the eternal Creator, to whom I pray that you may have long life and great increase of kingdom and lordships, with the will and disposition to increase the holy Christian religion as you have done hitherto. Amen!"

"To-day I got the ship afloat, and prepared to depart on Thursday, in the name of God, and to steer S. E. in search of gold and spices, and to discover land."

These are the words of the Admiral, who intended to depart on Thursday, but, the wind being contrary, he could not go until the 12th of November.

Monday, 12th of November.

The Admiral left the port and river of Mares before dawn to visit the island called *Babeque*, so much talked of by the Indians on board, where, according to their signs,

the people gather the gold on the beach at night with candles, and afterwards beat it into bars with hammers. To go thither it was necessary to shape a course E. by S. After having made eight leagues along the coast, a river was sighted, and another four leagues brought them to another river, which appeared to be of great volume, and larger than any they had yet seen. The Admiral did not wish to stop nor to enter any of these rivers, for two reasons: the first and principal one being that wind and weather were favorable for going in search of the said island of Babeque; the other, that, if there was a populous and famous city near the sea, it would be visible, while, to go up the rivers, small vessels are necessary, which those of the expedition were not. Much time would thus be lost; moreover, the exploration of such rivers is a separate enterprise. All that coast was peopled near the river, to which the name of *Rio del Sol* was given.

The Admiral says that, on the previous Sunday, the 11th of November, it seemed good to take some persons from amongst those at Rio de Mares, to bring to the Sovereigns, that they might learn our language, so as to be able to tell us what there is in their lands. Returning, they would be the mouthpieces of the Christians, and would adopt our customs and the things of the faith. "I saw and knew," says the Admiral, "that these people are without any religion, not idolaters, but very gentle, not knowing what is evil, nor the sins of murder and theft, being without arms, and so timid that a hundred would fly before one Spaniard, although they joke with them. They, however, believe and know that there is a God in heaven, and say that we have come from heaven. At any prayer that we say, they repeat, and make the sign of the cross. Thus your Highnesses should resolve to make them Christians, for I believe that, if the work was begun, in a little time a multitude of nations would be converted to our faith, with the acquisition of great lordships, peoples, and riches for Spain. Without doubt, there is in these lands a vast quantity of gold, and

the Indians I have on board do not speak without reason when they say that in these islands there are places where they dig out gold, and wear it on their necks, ears, arms, and legs, the rings being very large. There are also precious stones, pearls, and an infinity of spices. In this river of Mares, whence we departed to-night, there is undoubtedly a great quantity of mastick, and much more could be raised, because the trees may be planted, and will yield abundantly. The leaf and fruit are like the mastick, but the tree and leaf are larger. As Pliny describes it, I have seen it on the island of Chios in the Archipelago. I ordered many of these trees to be tapped, to see if any of them would yield resin; but, as it rained all the time I was in that river, I could not get any, except a very little, which I am bringing to your Highnesses. It may not be the right season for tapping, which is, I believe, when the trees come forth after winter and begin to flower. But when I was there the fruit was nearly ripe. Here also there is a great quantity of cotton, and I believe it would have a good sale here without sending it to Spain, but to the great cities of the Gran Can, which will be discovered without doubt, and many others ruled over by other lords, who will be pleased to serve your Highnesses, and whither will be brought other commodities of Spain and of the Eastern lands; but these are to the west as regards us. There is also here a great yield of aloes, though this is not a commodity that will yield great profit. The mastick, however, is important, for it is only obtained from the said island of Chios, and I believe the harvest is worth fifty thousand ducats, if I remember right. There is here, in the mouth of the river, the best port I have seen up to this time, wide, deep, and clear of rocks. It is an excellent site for a town and fort, for any ship could come close up to the walls; the land is high, with a temperate climate, and very good water.

"Yesterday a canoe came alongside the ship, with six youths in it. Five came on board, and I ordered them to be detained. They are now here. I afterwards sent to a

house on the western side of the river, and seized seven women, old and young, and three children. I did this because the men would behave better in Spain if they had women of their own land, than without them. For on many occasions the men of Guinea have been brought to learn the language in Portugal, and afterwards, when they returned, and it was expected that they would be useful in their land, owing to the good company they had enjoyed and the gifts they had received, they never appeared after arriving. Others may not act thus. But, having women, they have the wish to perform what they are required to do; besides, the women would teach our people their language, which is the same in all these islands, so that those who make voyages in their canoes are understood everywhere. On the other hand, there are a thousand different languages in Guinea, and one native does not understand another.

"The same night the husband of one of the women came alongside in a canoe, who was father of the three children—one boy and two girls. He asked me to let him come with them, and besought me much. They are now all consoled at being with one who is a relation of them all. He is a man of about forty-five years of age." All these are the words of the Admiral. He also says that he had felt some cold, and that it would not be wise to continue discoveries in a northerly direction in the winter. On this Monday, until sunset, he steered a course E. by S., making eighteen leagues, and reaching a cape, to which he gave the name *Cabo de Cuba*.

Tuesday, 13th of November.

This night the ships were on a bowline, as the sailors say, beating to the windward without making any progress. At sunset they began to see an opening in the mountains, where two very high peaks were visible. It appeared that here was the division between the land of Cuba and that of Bohio, and this was affirmed by signs, by the Indians who were on board. As soon as the day had dawned, the

Admiral made sail towards the land, passing a point which appeared at night to be distant two leagues. He then entered a large gulf, five leagues to the S. S. E., and there remained five more, to arrive at the point where, between two great mountains, there appeared to be an opening; but it could not be made out whether it was an inlet of the sea. As he desired to go to the island called Babeque, where, according to the information he had received, there was much gold; and as it bore E., and as no large town was in sight, the wind freshening more than ever, he resolved to put out to sea, and work to the E. with a northerly wind. The ship made eight miles an hour, and from ten in the forenoon, when that course was taken, until sunset, fifty-six miles, which is fourteen leagues to the eastward from the Cabo de Cuba. The other land of Bohio was left to leeward. Commencing from the cape of the said gulf, he discovered, according to his reckoning, eighty miles, equal to twenty leagues, all that coast running E. S. E. and W. N. W.

Wednesday, 14th of November.

All last night the Admiral was beating to windward (he said that it would be unreasonable to navigate among those islands during the night, until they had been explored), for the Indians said yesterday that it would take three days to go from Rio de Mares to the island of Babeque, by which should be understood days' journey in their canoes equal to about seven leagues. The wind fell, and, the course being E., she could not lay her course nearer than S. E., and, owing to other mischances, he was detained until the morning. At sunrise he determined to go in search of a port, because the wind had shifted from N. to N. E., and if a port could not be found, it would be necessary to go back to the ports in the island of Cuba, whence they came. The Admiral approached the shore, having gone over twenty-eight miles E. S. E. that night. He steered S. . . . miles to the land, where he saw many islets and openings. As the wind

was high and the sea rough, he did not dare to risk an attempt to enter, but ran along the coast W. N. W., looking out for a port, and saw many, but none very clear of rocks. After having proceeded for sixty-four miles, he found a very deep opening, a quarter of a mile wide, with a good port and river. He ran in with her head S. S. W., afterwards S. to S. E. The port was spacious and very deep, and he saw so many islands that he could not count them all, with very high land covered with trees of many kinds, and an infinite number of palms. He was much astonished to see so many lofty islands; and assured the Sovereigns that the mountains and isles he had seen since yesterday seemed to him to be second to none in the world; so high and clear of clouds and snow, with the sea at their bases so deep. He believes that these islands are those innumerable ones that are depicted on the maps of the world in the Far East. He believed that they yielded very great riches in precious stones and spices, and that they extend much further to the south, widening out in all directions. He gave the name of *La Mar de Nuestra Señora*, and to the haven, which is near the mouth of the entrance to these islands, *Puerto del Principe*. He did not enter it, but examined it from outside, until another time, on Saturday of the next week, as will there appear. He speaks highly of the fertility, beauty, and height of the islands which he found in this gulf, and he tells the Sovereigns not to wonder at his praise of them, for that he has not told them the hundredth part. Some of them seemed to reach to heaven, running up into peaks like diamonds. Others have a flat top like a table. At their bases the sea is of a great depth, with enough water for a very large carrack. All are covered with foliage and without rocks.

Thursday, 15th of November.

The Admiral went to examine these islands in the ships' boats and speaks marvels of them, how he found mastick, and aloes without end. Some of them were cultivated with

the roots of which the Indians make bread; and he found that fires had been lighted in several places. He saw no fresh water. There were some natives, but they fled. In all parts of the sea where the vessels were navigated he found a depth of fifteen or sixteen fathoms, and all *basa*, by which he means that the ground is sand, and not rocks; a thing much desired by sailors, for the rocks cut their anchor cables.

Friday, 16th of November.

As in all parts, whether islands or mainlands, that he visited, the Admiral always left a cross; so, on this occasion, he went in a boat to the entrance of these havens, and found two very large trees on a point of land, one longer than the other. One being placed over the other, made a cross, and he said that a carpenter could not have made it better. He ordered a very large and high cross to be made out of these timbers. He found canes on the beach, and did not know where they had grown, but thought they must have been brought down by some river, and washed up on the beach [in which opinion he had reason]. He went to a creek on the S. E. side of the entrance of the port. Here, under a height of rock and stone like a cape, there was depth enough for the largest carrack in the world close in shore, and there was a corner where six ships might lie without anchors as in a room. It seemed to the Admiral that a fortress might be built here at small cost, if at any time any famous trade should arise in that sea of islands.

Returning to the ship, he found that the Indians who were on board had fished up very large shells found in those seas. He made the people examine them, to see if there was mother-o'-pearl, which is in the shells where pearls grow. They found a great deal, but no pearls, and their absence was attributed to its not being the season, which is May and June. The sailors found an animal which seemed to be a *taso*, or *taxo*. They also fished with nets, and, among many others, caught a fish which was exactly like a

pig, not like a tunny, but all covered with a very hard shell, without a soft place except the eyes. It was ordered to be salted, to bring home for the Sovereigns to see.

Saturday, 17th of November.

The Admiral got into the boat, and went to visit the islands he had not yet seen to the S. W. He saw many more very fertile and pleasant islands, with a great depth between them. Some of them had springs of fresh water, and he believed that the water of those streams came from some sources at the summits of the mountains. He went on, and found a beach bordering on very sweet water, which was very cold. There was a beautiful meadow and many very tall palms. They found a large nut of the kind belonging to India, great rats, and enormous crabs. He saw many birds, and there was a strong smell of musk, which made him think it must be there. This day the two eldest of the six youths brought from the Rio de Mares, who were on board the caravel *Niña*, made their escape.

Sunday, 18th of November.

The Admiral again went away with the boats, accompanied by many of the sailors, to set up the cross which he had ordered to be made out of the two large trees at the entrance to the Puerto del Principe, on a fair site cleared of trees, whence there was an extensive and very beautiful view. He says that there is a greater rise and fall there than in any other port he has seen, and that this is no marvel, considering the numerous islands. The tide is the reverse of ours, because here, when the moon is S. S. W., it is low water in the port. He did not get under weigh, because it was Sunday.

Monday, 19th of November.

The Admiral got under weigh before sunrise, in a calm. In the afternoon there was some wind from the E., and he shaped a N. N. E. course. At sunset the Puerto del Principe

bore S. S. W. seven leagues. He saw the island of Babeque bearing due E. about sixty miles. He steered N. E. all that night, making sixty miles, and up to ten o'clock of Tuesday another dozen; altogether eighteen leagues N. E. by W.

Tuesday, 20th of November.

They left Babeque, or the islands of Babeque, to the E. S. E., the wind being contrary; and, seeing that no progress was being made, and the sea was getting rough, the Admiral determined to return to the Puerto del Principe, whence he had started, which was twenty-five leagues distant. He did not wish to go to the island he had called Isabella, which was twelve leagues off, and where he might have anchored that night, for two reasons: one was that he had seen two islands to the S. which he wished to explore; the other, because the Indians he brought with him, whom he had taken at the island of Guanahani, which he named San Salvador, eight leagues from Isabella, might get away, and he said that he wanted them to take to Spain. They thought that, when the Admiral had found gold, he would let them return to their homes. He came near the Puerto del Principe, but could not reach it, because it was night, and because the current drifted them to the N. W. He turned her head to N. E. with a light wind. At three o'clock in the morning the wind changed, and a course was shaped E. N. E., the wind being S. S. W., and changing at dawn to S. and S. E. At sunset the Puerto del Principe bore nearly S. W. by W. forty-eight miles, which are twelve leagues.

Wednesday, 21st of November.

At sunrise the Admiral steered E., with a southerly wind, but made little progress, owing to a contrary sea. At vespers he had gone twenty-four miles. Afterwards the wind changed to E., and he steered S. by E., at sunset having gone twelve miles. Here he found himself forty-two degrees N. of the equinoctial line, as in the port of Mares, but he

says that he kept the result from the quadrant in suspense until he reached the shore, that it might be adjusted [as it would seem that he thought this distance was too great, and he had reason, it not being possible, as these islands are only in . . . degrees].

This day Martin Alonso Pinzon parted company with the caravel *Pinta*, in disobedience to and against the wish of the Admiral, and out of avarice, thinking that an Indian who had been put on board his caravel could show him where there was much gold. So he parted company, not owing to bad weather, but because he chose. Here the Admiral says: "He had done and said many other things to me."

Thursday, 22nd of November.

On Wednesday night the Admiral steered S. S. E., with the wind E., but it was nearly calm. At three it began to blow from N. N. E.; and he continued to steer S. to see the land he had seen in that quarter. When the sun rose he was as far off as the day before, owing to adverse currents, the land being forty miles off. This night Martin Alonso shaped a course to the E., to go to the island of Babeque, where the Indians say there is much gold. He did this in sight of the Admiral, from whom he was distant sixteen miles. The Admiral stood towards the land all night. He shortened sail, and showed a lantern, because Pinzon would thus have an opportunity of joining him, the night being very clear, and the wind fair to come, if he had wished to do so.

Friday, 23rd of November.

The Admiral stood towards the land all day, always steering S. with little wind, but the current would never let them reach it, being as far off at sunset as in the morning. The wind was E. N. E., and they could shape a southerly course, but there was little of it. Beyond this cape there stretched out another land or cape, also trending

E., which the Indians on board called Bohio. They said that it was very large, and that there were people in it who had one eye in their foreheads, and others who were cannibals, and of whom they were much afraid. When they saw that this course was taken, they said that they could not talk to these people, because they would be eaten, and that they were very well armed. The Admiral says that he well believes that there were such people, and that if they are armed they must have some ability. He thought that they may have captured some of the Indians, and because they did not return to their homes the others believed that they had been eaten. They thought the same of the Christians and of the Admiral when some of them first saw the strangers.

Saturday, 24th of November.

They navigated all night, and at three they reached the island at the very same point they had come to the week before, when they started for the island of Babeque. At first the Admiral did not dare to approach the shore, because it seemed that there would be a great surf in that mountain-girded bay. Finally he reached the sea of Nuestra Señora, where there are many islands, and entered a port near the mouth of the opening to the islands. He says that if he had known of this port before he need not have occupied himself in exploring the islands, and it would not have been necessary to go back. He, however, considered that the time was well spent in examining the islands. On nearing the land he sent in the boat to sound; finding a good sandy bottom in six to twenty fathoms. He entered the haven, pointing the ship's head S. W. and then W., the flat island bearing N. This, with another island near it, forms a harbor which would hold all the ships of Spain safe from all winds. This entrance on the S. W. side is passed by steering S. S. W., the outlet being to the W. very deep and wide. Thus a vessel can pass amidst these islands, and he who approaches from the N., with a

knowledge of them, can pass along the coast. These islands are at the foot of a great mountain chain running E. and W., which is longer and higher than any others on this coast, where there are many. A reef of rocks outside runs parallel with the said mountains, like a bench, extending to the entrance. On the side of the flat island, and also to the S. E., there is another small reef, but between them there is great width and depth. Within the port, near the S. E. side of the entrance, they saw a large and very fine river, with more volume than any they had yet met with, and fresh water could be taken from it as far as the sea. At the entrance there is a bar, but within it is very deep, nineteen fathoms. The banks are lined with palms and many other trees.

Sunday, 25th of November.

Before sunrise the Admiral got into the boat, and went to see a cape or point of land to the S. E. of the flat island, about a league and a half distant, because there appeared to be a good river there. Presently, near to the S. E. side of the cape, at a distance of two crossbow-shots, he saw a large stream of beautiful water falling from the mountains above, with a loud noise. He went to it, and saw some stones shining in its bed like gold. He remembered that in the river Tejo, near its junction with the sea, there was gold; so it seemed to him that this should contain gold, and he ordered some of these stones to be collected, to be brought to the Sovereigns. Just then the sailor boys called out that they had found large pines. The Admiral looked up the hill, and saw that they were so wonderfully large that he could not exaggerate their height and straightness, like stout yet fine spindles. He perceived that here there was material for great store of planks and masts for the largest ships in Spain. He saw oaks and arbutus trees, with a good river, and the means of making water power. The climate was temperate, owing to the height of the mountains. On the beach he saw many other stones of the color of iron, and others

that some said were like silver ore, all brought down by the river. Here he obtained a new mast and yard for the mizzen of the caravel *Niña*. He came to the mouth of the river, and entered a creek which was deep and wide, at the foot of that S. E. part of the cape, which would accommodate a hundred ships without any anchor or hawser. Eyes never beheld a better harbor. The mountains are very high, whence descend many limpid streams, and all the hills are covered with pines, and an infinity of diverse and beautiful trees. Two or three other rivers were not visited.

The Admiral described all this, in much detail, to the Sovereigns, and declared that he had derived unspeakable joy and pleasure at seeing it, more especially the pines, because they enable as many ships as is desired to be built here, bringing out the rigging, but finding here abundant supplies of wood and provisions. He affirms that he has not enumerated a hundredth part of what there is here, and that it pleased our Lord always to show him one thing better than another, as well on the ground and among the trees, herbs, fruits, and flowers, as in the people, and always something different in each place. It had been the same as regards the havens and the waters. Finally, he says that if it caused him who saw it so much wonder, how much more will it affect those who hear about it; yet no one can believe until he sees it.

Monday, 26th of November.

At sunrise the Admiral weighed the anchors in the haven of *Santa Catalina*, where he was behind the flat island, and steered along the coast in the direction of *Cabo del Pico*, which was S. E. He reached the cape late, because the wind failed, and then saw another cape, S. E. by E. sixty miles, which, when twenty miles off, was named *Cabo de Campana*, but it could not be reached that day. They made good thirty-two miles during the day, which is eight leagues. During this time the Admiral noted nine remarkable ports, which all

the sailors thought wonderfully good, and five large rivers; for they sailed close along the land, so as to see everything. All along the coast there are very high and beautiful mountains, not arid or rocky, but all accessible, and very lovely. The valleys, like the mountains, were full of tall and fine trees, so that it was a glory to look upon them, and there seemed to be many pines. Also, beyond the said Cabo del Pico to the S. E. there are two islets, each about two leagues round, and inside them three excellent havens and two large rivers. Along the whole coast no inhabited places were visible from the sea. There may have been some, and there were indications of them, for, when the men landed, they found signs of people and numerous remains of fires. The Admiral conjectured that the land he saw to-day S. E. of the Cabo de Campana was the island called by the Indians Bohio: it looked as if this cape was separated from the mainland. The Admiral says that all the people he has hitherto met with have very great fear of those of *Caniba* or *Canima*. They affirm that they live in the island of Bohio, which must be very large, according to all accounts. The Admiral understood that those of Caniba come to take people from their homes, they being very cowardly, and without knowledge of arms. For this cause it appears that these Indians do not settle on the seacoast, owing to being near the land of Caniba. When the natives who were on board saw a course shaped for that land, they feared to speak, thinking they were going to be eaten; nor could they rid themselves of their fear. They declared that the Canibas had only one eye and dogs' faces. The Admiral thought they lied, and was inclined to believe that it was people from the dominions of the Gran Can who took them into captivity.

Tuesday, 27th of November.

Yesterday, at sunset, they arrived near a cape named Campana by the Admiral; and as the sky was clear and the wind light, he did not wish to run in close to the land and anchor, although he had five or six singularly good

havens under his lee. The Admiral was attracted on the one hand by the longing and delight he felt to gaze upon the beauty and freshness of those lands, and on the other by a desire to complete the work he had undertaken. For these reasons he remained close hauled, and stood off and on during the night. But, as the currents had set him more than five or six leagues to the S. E. beyond where he had been at nightfall, passing the land of Campana, he came in sight of a great opening beyond that cape, which seemed to divide one land from another, leaving an island between them. He decided to go back, with the wind S. E., steering to the point where the opening had appeared, where he found that it was only a large bay; and at the end of it, on the S. E. side, there was a point of land on which was a high and square-cut hill, which had looked like an island. A breeze sprang up from the N., and the Admiral continued on a S. E. course, to explore the coast and discover all that was there. Presently he saw, at the foot of the Cabo de Campana, a wonderfully good port, and a large river, and, a quarter of a league on, another river, and a third, and a fourth to a seventh at similar distances, from the furthest one to Cabo de Campana being twenty miles S. E. Most of these rivers have wide and deep mouths, with excellent havens for large ships, without sandbanks or sunken rocks. Proceeding onwards from the last of these rivers, on a S. E. course, they came to the largest inhabited place they had yet seen, and a vast concourse of people came down to the beach with loud shouts, all naked, with their darts in their hands. The Admiral desired to have speech with them, so he furled sails and anchored. The boats of the ship and the caravel were sent on shore, with orders to do no harm whatever to the Indians, but to give them presents. The Indians made as if they would resist the landing, but, seeing that the boats of the Spaniards continued to advance without fear, they retired from the beach. Thinking that they would not be terrified if only two or three landed, three Christians were put on shore, who told

them not to be afraid, in their own language, for they had been able to learn a little from the natives who were on board. But all ran away, neither great nor small remaining. The Christians went to the houses, which were of straw, and built like the others they had seen, but found no one in any of them. They returned to the ships, and made sail at noon in the direction of a fine cape to the eastward, about eight leagues distant. Having gone about half a league, the Admiral saw, on the S. side of the same bay, a very remarkable harbor, and to the S. E. some wonderfully beautiful country like a valley among the mountains, whence much smoke arose, indicating a large population, with signs of much cultivation. So he resolved to stop at this port, and see if he could have any speech or intercourse with the inhabitants. It was so that, if the Admiral had praised the other havens, he must praise this still more for its lands, climate, and people. He tells marvels of the beauty of the country and of the trees, there being palms and pine trees; and also of the great valley, which is not flat, but diversified by hill and dale, the most lovely scene in the world. Many streams flow from it, which fall from the mountains.

As soon as the ship was at anchor the Admiral jumped into the boat, to get soundings in the port, which is the shape of a hammer. When he was facing the entrance he found the mouth of a river on the south side of sufficient width for a galley to enter it, but so concealed that it is not visible until close to. Entering it for the length of the boat, there was a depth of from five to eight fathoms. In passing up it the freshness and beauty of the trees, the clearness of the water, and the birds, made it all so delightful that he wished never to leave them. He said to the men who were with him that to give a true relation to the Sovereigns of the things they had seen, a thousand tongues would not suffice, nor his hand to write it, for that it was like a scene of enchantment. He desired that many other prudent and credible witnesses might see it, and he was sure that they would be as unable to exaggerate the scene as he was.

The Admiral also says: "How great the benefit that is to be derived from this country would be, I cannot say. It is certain that where there are such lands there must be an infinite number of things that would be profitable. But I did not remain long in one port, because I wished to see as much of the country as possible, in order to make a report upon it to your Highnesses; and besides, I do not know the language, and these people neither understand me nor any other in my company; while the Indians I have on board often misunderstand. Moreover, I have not been able to see much of the natives, because they often take to flight. But now, if our Lord pleases, I will see as much as possible, and will proceed by little and little, learning and comprehending; and I will make some of my followers learn the language. For I have perceived that there is only one language up to this point. After they understand the advantages, I shall labor to make all these people Christians. They will become so readily, because they have no religion nor idolatry, and your Highnesses will send orders to build a city and fortress, and to convert the people. I assure your Highnesses that it does not appear to me that there can be a more fertile country nor a better climate under the sun, with abundant supplies of water. This is not like the rivers of Guinea, which are all pestilential. I thank our Lord that, up to this time, there has not been a person of my company who has so much as had a headache, or been in bed from illness, except an old man who has suffered from the stone all his life, and he was well again in two days. I speak of all three vessels. If it will please God that your Highnesses should send learned men out here, they will see the truth of all I have said. I have related already how good a place Rio de Mares would be for a town and fortress, and this is perfectly true; but it bears no comparison with this place, nor with the Mar de Nuestra Señora. For here there must be a large population, and very valuable productions, which I hope to discover before I return to Castille. I say that if Christendom will find

profit among these people, how much more will Spain, to whom the whole country should be subject. Your Highnesses ought not to consent that any stranger should trade here, or put his foot in the country, except Catholic Christians, for this was the beginning and end of the undertaking; namely, the increase and glory of the Christian religion, and that no one should come to these parts who was not a good Christian."

All the above are the Admiral's words. He ascended the river for some distance, examined some branches of it, and, returning to the mouth, he found some pleasant groves of trees, like a delightful orchard. Here he came upon a canoe, dug out of one tree, as big as a galley of twelve benches, fastened under a boat house made of wood, and thatched with palm leaves, so that it could neither be injured by the sun nor by the water. He says that here would be the proper site for a town and fort, by reason of the good port, good water, good land, and abundance of fuel.

Wednesday, 28th of November.

The Admiral remained during this day, in consequence of the rain and thick weather, though he might have run along the coast, the wind being S. W., but he did not weigh, because he was unacquainted with the coast beyond, and did not know what danger there might be for the vessels. The sailors of the two vessels went on shore to wash their clothes, and some of them walked inland for a short distance. They found indications of a large population, but the houses were all empty, everyone having fled. They returned by the banks of another river, larger than that which they knew of, at the port.

Thursday, 29th of November.

The rain and thick weather continuing, the Admiral did not get under weigh. Some of the Christians went to another village to the N. W., but found no one, and nothing in the houses. On the road they met an old man who

could not run away, and caught him. They told him that they did not wish to do him any harm, gave him a few presents, and let him go. The Admiral would have liked to have speech with him, for he was exceedingly satisfied with the delights of that land, and wished that a settlement might be formed there, judging that it must support a large population. In one house they found a cake of wax, which was taken to the Sovereigns, the Admiral saying that where there was wax, there were also a thousand other good things. The sailors also found, in one house, the head of a man in a basket, covered with another basket, and fastened to a post of the house. They found the same things in another village. The Admiral believed that they must be the heads of some founder, or principal ancestor of a lineage, for the houses are built to contain a great number of people in each; and these should be relations, and descendants of a common ancestor.

Friday, 30th of November.

They could not get under weigh to-day because the wind was E., and dead against them. The Admiral sent eight men well armed, accompanied by two of the Indians he had on board, to examine the villages inland, and get speech with the people. They came to many houses, but found no one and nothing, all having fled. They saw four youths who were digging in their fields, but, as soon as they saw the Christians, they ran away, and could not be overtaken. They marched a long distance, and saw many villages and a most fertile land, with much cultivation and many streams of water. Near one river they saw a canoe dug out of a single tree ninety-five *palmos* long, and capable of carrying one hundred and fifty persons.

Saturday, 1st of December.

They did not depart, because there was still a foul wind, with much rain. The Admiral set up a cross at the entrance of this port, which he called *Puerto Santo*, on some

bare rocks. The point is that which is on the S. E. side of the entrance; but he who has to enter should make more over to the N. W.; for at the foot of both, near the rock, there are twelve fathoms and a very clean bottom. At the entrance of the port, towards the S. E. point, there is a reef of rocks above the water, sufficiently far from the shore to be able to pass between if it is necessary; for both on the side of the rock and the shore there is a depth of twelve to fifteen fathoms; and, on entering, a ship's head should be turned S. W.

Sunday, 2nd of December.

The wind was still contrary, and they could not depart. Every night the wind blows on the land, but no vessel need be alarmed at all the gales in the world, for they cannot blow home by reason of a reef of rocks at the opening to the haven. A sailor boy found, at the mouth of the river, some stones which looked as if they contained gold; so they were taken to be shown to the Sovereigns. The Admiral says that there are great rivers at the distance of a lombard-shot.

Monday, 3rd of December.

By reason of the continuance of an easterly wind the Admiral did not leave this port. He arranged to visit a very beautiful headland a quarter of a league to the S. E. of the anchorage. He went with the boats and some armed men. At the foot of the cape there was the mouth of a fair river, and on entering it they found the width to be a hundred paces, with a depth of one fathom. Inside they found twelve, five, four, and two fathoms, so that it would hold all the ships there are in Spain. Leaving the river, they came to a cove in which were five very large canoes, so well constructed that it was a pleasure to look at them. They were under spreading trees, and a path led from them to a very well built boat house, so thatched that neither sun nor rain could do any harm. Within it there was another

canoe made out of a single tree like the others, like a galley with seventeen benches. It was a pleasant sight to look upon such goodly work. The Admiral ascended a mountain, and afterwards found the country level, and cultivated with many things of that land, including such calabashes as it was a glory to look upon them. In the middle there was a large village, and they came upon the people suddenly; but, as soon as they were seen, men and women took to flight. The Indian from on board, who was with the Admiral, cried out to them that they need not be afraid, as the strangers were good people. The Admiral made him give them bells, copper ornaments, and glass beads, green and yellow, with which they were well content. He saw that they had no gold nor any other precious thing, and that it would suffice to leave them in peace. The whole district was well peopled, the rest having fled from fear. The Admiral assures the Sovereigns that ten thousand of these men would run from ten, so cowardly and timid are they. No arms are carried by them, except wands, on the point of which a short piece of wood is fixed, hardened by fire, and these they are very ready to exchange. Returning to where he had left the boats, he sent back some men up the hill, because he fancied he had seen a large apiary. Before those he had sent could return, they were joined by many Indians, and they went to the boats, where the Admiral was waiting with all his people. One of the natives advanced into the river near the stern of the boat, and made a long speech, which the Admiral did not understand. At intervals the other Indians raised their hands to heaven, and shouted. The Admiral thought he was assuring him that he was pleased at his arrival; but he saw the Indian who came from the ship change the color of his face, and turn as yellow as wax, trembling much, and letting the Admiral know by signs that he should leave the river, as they were going to kill him. He pointed to a crossbow which one of the Spaniards had, and showed it to the Indians, and the Admiral let it be understood that they

would all be slain, because that crossbow carried far and killed people. He also took a sword and drew it out of the sheath, showing it to them, and saying the same, which, when they had heard, they all took to flight; while the Indian from the ship trembled from cowardice, though he was a tall, strong man. The Admiral did not want to leave the river, but pulled towards the place where the natives had assembled in great numbers, all painted, and as naked as when their mothers bore them. Some had tufts of feathers on their heads, and all had their bundles of darts.

The Admiral says: "I came to them, and gave them some mouthfuls of bread, asking for the darts, for which I gave in exchange copper ornaments, bells, and glass beads. This made them peaceable, so that they came to the boats again, and gave us what they had. The sailors had killed a turtle, and the shell was in the boat in pieces. The sailor boys gave them some in exchange for a bundle of darts. These are like the other people we have seen, and with the same belief that we came from heaven. They are ready to give whatever thing they have in exchange for any trifle without saying it is a little; and I believe they would do the same with gold and spices if they had any. I saw a fine house, not very large, and with two doors, as all the rest have. On entering, I saw a marvellous work, there being rooms made in a peculiar way, that I scarcely know how to describe it. Shells and other things were fastened to the ceiling. I thought it was a temple, and I called them and asked, by signs, whether prayers were offered up there. They said that they were not, and one of them climbed up and offered me all the things that were there, of which I took some."

Tuesday, 4th of December.

The Admiral made sail with little wind, and left that port, which he called Puerto Santo. After going two leagues, he saw the great river of which he spoke yesterday. Passing along the land, and beating to windward on S. E. and

W. N. W. courses, they reached *Cabo Lindo*, which is E. S. E. five leagues from *Cabo del Monte*. A league and a half from Cabo del Monte there is an important but rather narrow river, which seemed to have a good entrance, and to be deep. Three-quarters of a league further on, the Admiral saw another very large river, and he thought it must have its source at a great distance. It had a hundred paces at its mouth, and no bar, with a depth of eight fathoms. The Admiral sent the boat in, to take soundings, and they found the water fresh until it enters the sea.

This river had great volume, and must have a large population on its banks. Beyond Cabo Lindo there is a great bay, which would be open for navigation to E. N. E. and S. E. and S. S. W.

Wednesday, 5th of December.

All this night they were beating to windward off Cabo Lindo, to reach the land to the E., and at sunrise the Admiral sighted another cape, two and a half leagues to the E. Having passed it, he saw that the land trended S. and S. W., and presently saw a fine high cape in that direction, seven leagues distant. He would have wished to go there, but his object was to reach the island of Babeque, which, according to the Indians, bore N. E.; so he gave up the intention. He could not go to Babeque either, because the wind was N. E. Looking to the S. E., he saw land, which was a very large island, according to the information of the Indians, well peopled, and called by them Bohio. The Admiral says that the inhabitants of Cuba, or *Juana*, and of all the other islands, are much afraid of the inhabitants of Bohio, because they say that they eat people. The Indians related other things, by signs, which are very wonderful; but the Admiral did not believe them. He only inferred that those of Bohio must have more cleverness and cunning to be able to capture the others, who, however, are very poor-spirited. The wind veered from N. E. to N., so the Admiral determined to leave Cuba, or Juana, which,

up to this time, he had supposed to be the mainland, on account of its size, having coasted along it for one hundred and twenty leagues. He shaped a course S. E. by E., the land he had sighted bearing S. E.; taking this precaution because the wind always veered from N. to N. E. again, and thence to E. and S. E. The wind increased, and he made all sail, the current helping them; so that they were making eight miles an hour from the morning until one in the afternoon [which is barely six hours, for they say that the nights were nearly fifteen hours]. Afterwards they went ten miles an hour, making good eighty-eight miles by sunset, equal to twenty-two leagues, all to the S. E. As night was coming on, the Admiral ordered the caravel *Niña*, being a good sailer, to proceed ahead, so as to sight a harbor at daylight. Arriving at the entrance of a port which was like the bay of Cadiz, while it was still dark, a boat was sent in to take soundings, which showed a light from the lantern. Before the Admiral could beat up to where the caravel was, hoping that the boat would show a leading mark for entering the port, the candle in the lantern went out. The caravel, not seeing the light, showed a light to the Admiral, and, running down to him, related what had happened. The boat's crew then showed another light, and the caravel made for it; but the Admiral could not do so, and was standing off and on all night.

Thursday, 6th of December.

When daylight arrived the Admiral found himself four leagues from the port, to which he gave the name of *Puerto Maria*, and to a fine cape bearing S. S. W. he gave the name of *Cabo del Estrella*. It seemed to be the furthest point of the island towards the S., distant twenty-eight miles. Another point of land, like an island, appeared about forty miles to the E. To another fine point, fifty-four miles to the E., he gave the name of *Cabo del Elefante*, and he called another, twenty-eight miles to the S. E., *Cabo de Cinquin*. There was a great opening or bay, which might be the

mouth of a river, distant twenty miles. It seemed that between Cabo del Elefante and that of Cinquin there was a great opening, and some of the sailors said that it formed an island, to which the name of *Isla de la Tortuga* was given. The island appeared to be very high land, not closed in with mountains, but with beautiful valleys, well cultivated, the crops appearing like the wheat on the plain of Cordova in May. That night they saw many fires, and much smoke, as if from workshops, in the daytime; it appeared to be a signal made by people who were at war. All the coast of this land trends to the E.

At the hour of vespers the Admiral reached this port, to which he gave the name of *Puerto de San Nicolas*, in honor of St. Nicholas, whose day it was; and on entering it he was astonished at its beauty and excellence. Although he had given great praise to the ports of Cuba, he had no doubt that this one not only equalled, but excelled them, and none of them are like it. At the entrance it is a league and a half wide, and a vessel's head should be turned S. S. E., though, owing to the great width, she may be steered on any bearing that is convenient; proceeding on this course for two leagues. On the S. side of the entrance the coast forms a cape, and thence the course is almost the same as far as a point where there is a fine beach, and a plain covered with fruit-bearing trees of many kinds; so that the Admiral thought there must be nutmegs and other spices among them, but he did not know them, and they were not ripe. There is a river falling into the harbor, near the middle of the beach. The depth of this port is surprising, for, until reaching the land, for a distance of . . . the lead did not reach the bottom at forty fathoms; and up to this length there are fifteen fathoms with a very clean bottom. Throughout the port there is a depth of fifteen fathoms, with a clean bottom, at a short distance from the shore; and all along the coast there are soundings with clean bottom, and not a single sunken rock. Inside, at the length of a boat's oar from the land, there are

five fathoms. Beyond the limit of the port to the S. S. E. a thousand carracks could beat up. One branch of the port to the N. E. runs into the land for a long half-league, and always the same width, as if it had been measured with a cord. Being in this creek, which is twenty-five paces wide, the principal entrance to the harbor is not in sight, so that it appears land-locked. The depth of this creek is eleven fathoms throughout, all with clean bottom; and close to the land, where one might put the gangboards on the grass, there are eight fathoms.

The whole port is open to the air, and clear of trees. All the island appeared to be more rocky that any that had been discovered. The trees are smaller, and many of them of the same kinds as are found in Spain, such as the ilex, the arbutus, and others, and it is the same with the herbs. It is a very high country, all open and clear, with a very fine air, and no such cold has been met with elsewhere, though it cannot be called cold except by comparison. Towards the front of the haven there is a beautiful valley, watered by a river; and in that district there must be many inhabitants, judging from the number of large canoes, like galleys, with fifteen benches. All the natives fled as soon as they saw the ships. The Indians who were on board had such a longing to return to their homes that the Admiral considered whether he should not take them back when he should depart from here. They were already suspicious, because he did not shape a course towards their country; whence he neither believed what they said, nor could he understand them, nor they him, properly. The Indians on board had the greatest fear in the world of the people of this island. In order to get speech of the people it would be necessary to remain some days in harbor; but the Admiral did not do so, because he had to continue his discoveries, and because he could not tell how long he might be detained. He trusted in our Lord that the Indians he brought with him would understand the language of the people of this island; and afterwards he would communicate

Gore-map showing the track of Magellan's ci

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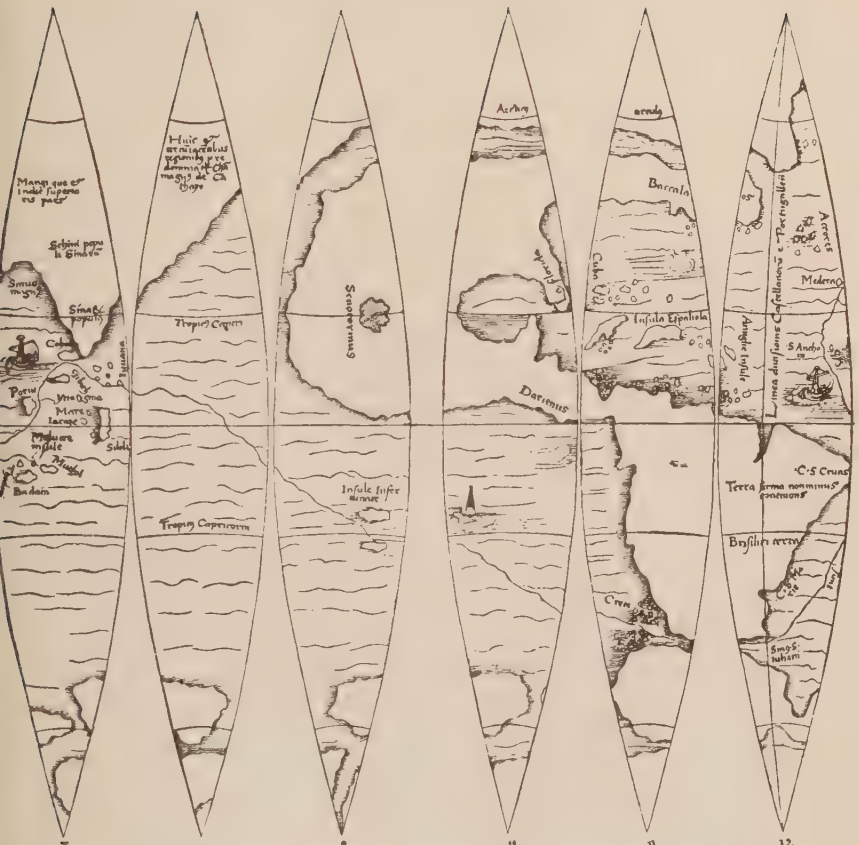


tion of the world. *From the unique original in the New*
y, Lenox Branch.

with them, trusting that it might please God's Majesty that he might find trade in gold before he returned.

Friday, 7th of December.

At daybreak the Admiral got under weigh, made sail, and left the port of San Nicolas. He went on with the wind in the W. for two leagues, until he reached the point which forms the *Carenero*, when the angle in the coast bore S. E., and Cabo de la Estrella was twenty-four miles to the S. W. Thence he steered along the coast eastward to Cabo de Cinquin about forty-eight miles, twenty of them being on an E. N. E. coast. All the coast is very high, with a deep sea. Close in shore there are twenty to thirty fathoms, and at the distance of a lombard-shot there is no bottom; all which the Admiral discovered that day, as he sailed along the coast with the wind S. W., much to his satisfaction. The cape, which runs out in the port of San Nicolas the length of a shot from a lombard, could be made an island by cutting across it, while to sail round it is a circuit of three or four miles. All that land is very high, not clothed with very high trees, but with ilex, arbutus, and others proper to the land of Castille. Before reaching Cabo de Cinquin by two leagues, the Admiral discovered an opening in the mountains, through which he could see a very large valley, covered with crops like barley, and he therefore judged that it must sustain a large population. Behind there was a high range of mountains. On reaching Cabo de Cinquin, *Cabo de la Tortuga* bore N. E. thirty-two miles. Off Cabo de Cinquin, at the distance of a lombard-shot, there is a high rock, which is a good landmark. The Admiral being there, he took the bearing of Cabo del Elefante, which was E. S. E. about seventy miles, the intervening land being very high. At a distance of six leagues there was a conspicuous cape, and he saw many large valleys and plains, and high mountains inland, all reminding him of Spain. After eight leagues he came to a very deep but narrow river, though a carrack might easily enter it, and the

mouth without bar or rocks. After sixteen miles there was a wide and deep harbor, with no bottom at the entrance, nor, at three paces from the shore, less than fifteen fathoms; and it runs inland a quarter of a league. It being yet very early, only one o'clock in the afternoon, and the wind being aft and blowing fresh, yet, as the sky threatened much rain, and it was very thick, which is dangerous even on a known coast, how much more in an unknown country, the Admiral resolved to enter the port, which he called *Puerto de la Concepcion*. He landed near a small river at the point of the haven, flowing from valleys and plains, the beauty of which was a marvel to behold. He took fishing nets with him; and, before he landed, a skate, like those of Spain, jumped into the boat, this being the first time they had seen fish resembling the fish of Castille. The sailors caught and killed others. Walking a short distance inland, the Admiral found much land under cultivation, and heard the singing of nightingales and other birds of Castille. Five men were seen, but they would not stop, running away. The Admiral found myrtles and other Spanish plants, while land and mountains were like those of Castille.

Saturday, 8th of December.

In this port there was heavy rain, with a fresh breeze from the N. The harbor is protected from all winds except the N.; but even this can do no harm whatever, because there is a great surf outside, which prevents such a sea within the river as would make a ship work on her cables. After midnight the wind veered to N. E., and then to E., from which winds this port is well sheltered by the island of Tortuga, distant thirty-six miles.

Sunday, 9th of December.

To-day it rained, and the weather was wintry, like October in Castille. No habitations had been seen except a very beautiful house in the Puerto de San Nicolas, which was better built than any that had been in other parts. "The

island is very large," says the Admiral; "it would not be much if it has a circumference of two hundred leagues. All the parts he had seen were well cultivated. He believed that the villages must be at a distance from the sea, whither they went when the ships arrived; for they all took to flight, taking everything with them, and they made smoke signals, like a people at war." This port has a width of a thousand paces at its entrance, equal to a quarter of a league. There is neither bank nor reef within, and there are scarcely soundings close in shore. Its length, running inland, is three thousand paces, all clean, and with a sandy bottom; so that any ship may anchor in it without fear, and enter it without precaution. At the upper end there are the mouths of two rivers, with the most beautiful campaign country, almost like the lands of Spain: these even have the advantage; for which reasons the Admiral gave the name of the said island *Isla Española.*

Monday, 10th of December.

It blew hard from the N. E., which made them drag their anchors half a cable's length. This surprised the Admiral, who had seen that the anchors had taken good hold of the ground. As he saw that the wind was foul for the direction in which he wanted to steer, he sent six men on shore, well armed, to go two or three leagues inland, and endeavor to open communications with the natives. They went and returned without having seen either people or houses. But they found some hovels, wide roads, and some places where many fires had been made. They saw excellent lands, and many mastick trees, some specimens of which they took; but this is not the time for collecting it, as it does not coagulate.

Tuesday, 11th of December.

The Admiral did not depart, because the wind was still E. and S. E. In front of this port, as has been said, is the island of La Tortuga. It appears to be a large island,

with the coast almost like that of Española, and the distance between them is about ten leagues. It is well to know that from Cabo de Cinquin, opposite Tortuga, the coast trends to the S. The Admiral had a great desire to see that channel between these two islands, and to examine the island of Española, which is the most beautiful thing in the world. According to what the Indians said who were on board, he would have to go to the island of Babeque, They declared that it was very large, with great mountains, rivers, and valleys; and that the island of Bohio was larger than Juana, which they call Cuba, and that it is not surrounded by water. They seem to imply that there is mainland behind Española, and they call it *Caritaba*, and say it is of vast extent. They have reason in saying that the inhabitants are a clever race, for all the people of these islands are in great fear of those of Caniba. So the Admiral repeats, what he has said before, that Caniba is nothing else but the Gran Can, who ought now to be very near. He sends ships to capture the islanders; and as they do not return, their countrymen believe that they have been eaten. Each day we understand better what the Indians say, and they us, so that very often we are intelligible to each other. The Admiral sent people on shore, who found a great deal of mastick, but did not gather it. He says that the rains make it, and that in Chios they collect it in March. In these lands, being warmer, they might take it in January. They caught many fish like those of Castille—dace, salmon, hake, dory, gilt heads, skates, *corbinas*, shrimps, and they saw sardines. They found many aloes.

Wednesday, 12th of December.

The Admiral did not leave the port to-day, for the same reason: a contrary wind. He set up a great cross on the west side of the entrance, on a very picturesque height, "in sign," he says, "that your Highnesses hold this land for your own, but chiefly as a sign of our Lord Jesus Christ." This being done, three sailors strolled into the woods to see

the trees and bushes. Suddenly they came upon a crowd of people, all naked like the rest. They called to them, and went towards them, but they ran away. At last they caught a woman; for I had ordered that some should be caught, that they might be treated well, and made to lose their fear. This would be a useful event, for it could scarcely be otherwise, considering the beauty of the country. So they took the woman, who was very young and beautiful, to the ship, where she talked to the Indians on board; for they all speak the same language. The Admiral caused her to be dressed, and gave her glass beads, hawks' bells, and brass ornaments; then he sent her back to the shore very courteously, according to his custom. He sent three of the crew with her, and three of the Indians he had on board, that they might open communications with her people. The sailors in the boat, who took her on shore, told the Admiral that she did not want to leave the ship, but would rather remain with the other women he had seized at the port of Mares, in the island of Juana or Cuba. The Indians who went to put the woman on shore said that the natives came in a canoe, which is their caravel, in which they navigate from one place to another; but when they came to the entrance of the harbor, and saw the ships, they turned back, left the canoe, and took the road to the village. The woman pointed out the position of the village. She had a piece of gold in her nose, which showed that there was gold in that island.

Thursday, 13th of December.

The three men who had been sent by the Admiral with the woman returned at three o'clock in the morning, not having gone with her to the village, because the distance appeared to be long, or because they were afraid. They said that next day many people would come to the ships, as they would have been reassured by the news brought them by the woman. The Admiral, with the desire of ascertaining whether there were any profitable commodities in that land,

being so beautiful and fertile, and of having some speech with the people, and being desirous of serving the Sovereigns, determined to send again to the village, trusting in the news brought by the woman that the Christians were good people. For this service he selected nine men well armed, and suited for such an enterprise, with whom an Indian went from those who were on board. They reached the village, which is four and one-half leagues to the S. E., and found that it was situated in a very large and open valley. As soon as the inhabitants saw the Christians coming they all fled inland, leaving all their goods behind them. The village consisted of a thousand houses with over three thousand inhabitants. The Indian whom the Christians had brought with them ran after the fugitives, saying that they should have no fear, for the Christians did not come from Cariba, but were from heaven, and that they gave many beautiful things to all the people they met. They were so impressed with what he said, that upwards of two thousand came close up to the Christians, putting their hands on their heads, which was a sign of great reverence and friendship; and they were all trembling until they were reassured. The Christians related that, as soon as the natives had cast off their fear, they all went to the houses, and each one brought what he had to eat, consisting of *niames*, which are roots like large radishes, which they sow and cultivate in all their lands, and are their staple food. They make bread of them, and roast them. They have the smell of a chestnut, and anyone would think he was eating chestnuts. They gave their guests bread and fish, and all they had. As the Indians who came in the ship had understood that the Admiral wanted to have some parrots, one of those who accompanied the Spaniards mentioned this, and the natives brought out parrots, and gave them as many as they wanted, without asking anything for them. The natives asked the Spaniards not to go that night, and that they would give them many other things that they had in the mountains. While all these people were with the Spaniards, a great multitude was

seen to come, with the husband of the woman whom the Admiral had honored and sent away. They wore hair over their shoulders, and came to give thanks to the Christians for the honor the Admiral had done them, and for the gifts. The Christians reported to the Admiral that this was a handsomer and finer people than any that had hitherto been met with. But the Admiral says that he does not see how they can be a finer people than the others, giving to understand that all those he had found in the other islands were very well conditioned. As regards beauty, the Christians said there was no comparison, both men and women, and that their skins are whiter than the others. They saw two girls whose skins were as white as any that could be seen in Spain. They also said, with regard to the beauty of the country they saw, that the best land in Castille could not be compared with it. The Admiral also, comparing the lands they had seen before with these, said that there was no comparison between them, nor did the plain of Cordova come near them, the difference being as great as between night and day. They said that all these lands were cultivated, and that a very wide and large river passed through the centre of the valley, and could irrigate all the fields. All the trees were green and full of fruit, and the plants tall and covered with flowers. The roads were broad and good. The climate was like April in Castille; the nightingale and other birds sang as they do in Spain during that month, and it was the most pleasant place in the world. Some birds sing sweetly at night. The crickets and frogs are heard a good deal. The fish are like those of Spain. They saw much aloe and mastick, and cotton fields. Gold was not found, and it is not wonderful that it should not have been found in so short a time.

Here the Admiral calculated the number of hours in the day and night, and from sunrise to sunset. He found that twenty half-hour glasses passed, though he says that here there may be a mistake, either because they were not turned with equal quickness, or because some sand may not have

passed. He also observed with a quadrant, and found that he was thirty-four degrees from the equinoctial line.

Friday, 14th of December.

The Admiral left the Puerto de la Concepcion with the land breeze, but soon afterwards it fell calm [and this is experienced every day by those who are on this coast]. Later an E. wind sprang up, so he steered N. N. E., and arrived at the island of Tortuga. He sighted a point which he named *Punta Pierna*, E. N. E. of the end of the island twelve miles; and from thence another point was seen and named *Punta Lanzada*, in the same N. E. direction sixteen miles. Thus from the end of Tortuga to *Punta Aguda* the distance is forty-four miles, which is eleven leagues E. N. E. Along this route there are several long stretches of beach. The island of Tortuga is very high, but not mountainous, and is very beautiful and populous, like Española, and the land is cultivated, so that it looked like the plain of Cordova. Seeing that the wind was foul, and that he could not steer for the island of Babeque, he determined to return to the Puerto de la Concepcion whence he had come; but he could not fetch a river which is two leagues to the E. of that port.

Saturday, 15th of December.

Once more the Admiral left the Puerto de la Concepcion, but, on leaving the port, he was again met by a contrary E. wind. He stood over to Tortuga, and then steered with the object of exploring the river he had been unable to reach yesterday; nor was he able to fetch the river this time, but he anchored half a league to leeward of it, where there was clean and good anchoring ground. As soon as the vessels were secured, he went with the boats to the river, entering an arm of the sea, which proved not to be the river. Returning, he found the mouth, there being only one, and the current very strong. He went in with the boats to find the villagers that had been seen the day before.

He ordered a towrope to be got out and manned by the sailors, who hauled the boats up for a distance of two lombard-shots. They could not get further, owing to the strength of the current. He saw some houses, and the large valley where the villages were, and he said that a more beautiful valley he had never seen, this river flowing through the centre of it. He also saw people at the entrance, but they all took to flight. He further says that these people must be much hunted, for they live in such a state of fear. When the ships arrived at any port, they presently made smoke signals throughout the country; and this is done more in this island of Española and in Tortuga, which is also a large island, than in the others that were visited before. He called this valley *Valle del Paraiso*, and the river *Guadalquivir;* because he says that it is the size of the Guadalquivir at Cordova. The banks consist of shingle, suitable for walking.

Sunday, 16th of December.

At midnight the Admiral made sail with the land breeze to get clear of that gulf. Passing along the coast of Española on a bowline, for the wind had veered to the E., he met a canoe in the middle of the gulf, with a single Indian in it. The Admiral was surprised how he could have kept afloat with such a gale blowing. Both the Indian and his canoe were taken on board, and he was given glass beads, bells, and brass trinkets, and taken in the ship, until she was off a village seventeen miles from the former anchorage, where the Admiral came to again. The village appeared to have been lately built, for all the houses were new. The Indian then went on shore in his canoe, bringing the news that the Admiral and his companions were good people; although the intelligence had already been conveyed to the village from the place where the natives had their interview with the six Spaniards. Presently more than five hundred natives with their king came to the shore opposite the ships, which were anchored very close to the land. Presently

one by one, then many by many, came to the ship without bringing anything with them, except that some had a few grains of very fine gold in their ears and noses, which they readily gave away. The Admiral ordered them all to be well treated; and he says: "for they are the best people in the world, and the gentlest; and above all I entertain the hope in our Lord that your Highnesses will make them all Christians, and that they will all be your subjects, for as yours I hold them." He also saw that they all treated the king with respect, who was on the seashore. The Admiral sent him a present, which he received in great state. He was a youth of about twenty-one years of age, and he had with him an aged tutor, and other councillors who advised and answered him, but he uttered very few words. One of the Indians who had come in the Admiral's ship spoke to him, telling him how the Christians had come from heaven, and how they came in search of gold, and wished to find the island of Babeque. He said that it was well, and that there was much gold in the said island. He explained to the Alguazil of the Admiral that the way they were going was the right way, and that in two days they would be there; adding, that if they wanted anything from the shore he would give it them with great pleasure. This king, and all the others, go naked as their mothers bore them, as do the women, without any covering, and these were the most beautiful men and women that had yet been met with. They are fairly white, and if they were clothed and protected from the sun and air they would be almost as fair as people in Spain. This land is cool, and the best that words can describe. It is very high, yet the top of the highest mountain could be ploughed with bullocks; and all is diversified with plains and valleys. In all Castille there is no land that can be compared with this for beauty and fertility. All this island, as well as the island of Tortuga, is cultivated like the plain of Cordova. They raise on these lands crops of yams, which are small branches, at the foot of which grow roots like carrots, which serve as bread.

They powder and knead them, and make them into bread; then they plant the same branch in another part, which again sends out four or five of the same roots, which are very nutritious, with the taste of chestnuts. Here they have the largest the Admiral had seen in any part of the world, for he says that they have the same plant in Guinea. At this place they were as thick as a man's leg. All the people were stout and lusty, not thin, like the natives that had been seen before, and of a very pleasant manner, without religious belief. The trees were so luxuriant that the leaves left off being green, and were dark-colored with verdure. It was a wonderful thing to see those valleys, and rivers of sweet water, and the cultivated fields, and land fit for cattle, though they have none, for orchards, and for anything in the world that a man could seek.

In the afternoon the king came on board the ship, where the Admiral received him in due form, and caused him to be told that the ships belonged to the Sovereigns of Castille, who were the greatest Princes in the world. But neither the Indians who were on board, who acted as interpreters, nor the king believed a word of it. They maintained that the Spaniards came from heaven, and that the Sovereigns of Castille must be in heaven, and not in this world. They placed Spanish food before the king to eat, and he ate a mouthful, and gave the rest to his councillors and tutor, and to the rest who came with him.

"Your Highnesses may believe that these lands are so good and fertile, especially these of the island of Española, that there is no one who would know how to describe them, and no one who could believe if he had not seen them. And your Highnesses may believe that this island, and all the others, are as much yours as Castille. Here there is only wanting a settlement and the order to the people to do what is required. For I, with the force I have under me, which is not large, could march over all these islands without opposition. I have seen only three sailors land, without wishing to do harm, and a multitude of Indians fled before them.

They have no arms, and are without warlike instincts; they all go naked, and are so timid that a thousand would not stand before three of our men. So that they are good to be ordered about, to work and sow, and do all that may be necessary, and to build towns, and they should be taught to go about clothed and to adopt our customs."

Monday, 17th of December.

It blew very hard during the night from E. N. E., but there was not much sea, as this part of the coast is enclosed and sheltered by the island of Tortuga. The sailors were sent away to fish with nets. They had much intercourse with the natives, who brought them certain arrows of the Caribas or Canibales. They are made of reeds, pointed with sharp bits of wood hardened by fire, and are very long. They pointed out two men who wanted certain pieces of flesh on their bodies, giving to understand that the Canibales had eaten them by mouthfuls. The Admiral did not believe it. Some Christians were again sent to the village, and, in exchange for glass beads, obtained some pieces of gold beaten out into fine leaf. They saw one man, whom the Admiral supposed to be governor of that province, called by them *cacique*, with a piece of gold leaf as large as a hand, and it appears that he wanted to barter with it. He went into his house, and the other remained in the open space outside. He cut the leaf into small pieces, and each time he came out he brought a piece and exchanged it. When he had no more left, he said by signs that he had sent for more, and that he would bring it another day. The Admiral says that all these things, and the manner of doing them, with their gentleness and the information they gave, showed these people to be more lively and intelligent than any that had hitherto been met with. In the afternoon a canoe arrived from the island of Tortuga with a crew of forty men; and when they arrived on the beach all the people of the village sat down in sign of peace, and nearly all the crew came on shore. The cacique rose by himself,

and, with words that appeared to be of a menacing character, made them go back to the canoe and shove off. He took up stones from the beach and threw them into the water, all having obediently gone back into the canoe. He also took a stone and put it in the hands of my Alguazil, that he might throw it. He had been sent on shore with the Secretary to see if the canoe had brought anything of value. The Alguazil did not wish to throw the stone. That cacique showed that he was well disposed to the Admiral. Presently the canoe departed, and afterwards they said to the Admiral that there was more gold in Tortuga than in Española, because it is nearer to Babeque. The Admiral did not think that there were gold mines either in Española or Tortuga, but that the gold was brought from Babeque in small quantities, there being nothing to give in return. That land is so rich that there is no necessity to work much to sustain life, nor to clothe themselves, as they go naked. He believed that they were very near the source, and that our Lord would point out where the gold has its origin. He had information that from here to Babeque was four days' journey, about thirty-four leagues, which might be traversed with a fair wind in a single day.

Tuesday, 18th of December.

The Admiral remained at the same anchorage, because there was no wind, and also because the cacique had said that he had sent for gold. The Admiral did not expect much from what might be brought, but he wanted to understand better whence it came. Presently he ordered the ship and caravel to be adorned with arms and dressed with flags, in honor of the feast of Santa Maria de la O . . ., or commemoration of the Annunciation, which was on that day, and many rounds were fired from the lombards. The king of that island of Española had got up very early and left his house, which is about five leagues away, reaching the village at three in the morning. There were several men from the ship in the village, who had been sent by the

Admiral to see if any gold had arrived. They said that the king came with two hundred men; that he was carried in a litter by four men; and that he was a youth, as has already been said. To-day, when the Admiral was dining under the poop, the king came on board with all his people.

The Admiral says to the Sovereigns: "Without doubt, his state, and the reverence with which he is treated by all his people, would appear good to your Highnesses, though they all go naked. When he came on board, he found that I was dining at a table under the poop, and, at a quick walk, he came to sit down by me, and did not wish that I should give place by coming to receive him or rising from the table, but that I should go on with my dinner. I thought that he would like to eat of our viands, and ordered them to be brought for him to eat. When he came under the poop, he made signs with his hand that all the rest should remain outside, and so they did, with the greatest possible promptitude and reverence. They all sat on the deck, except the men of mature age, whom I believe to be his councillors and tutor, who came and sat at his feet. Of the viands which I put before him, he took of each as much as would serve to taste it, sending the rest to his people, who all partook of the dishes. The same thing in drinking: he just touched with his lips, giving the rest to his followers. They were all of fine presence and very few words. What they did say, so far as I could make out, was very clear and intelligent. The two at his feet watched his mouth, speaking to him and for him, and with much reverence. After dinner, an attendant brought a girdle, made like those of Castille, but of different material, which he took and gave to me, with pieces of worked gold, very thin. I believe they get very little here, but they say that they are very near the place where it is found, and where there is plenty. I saw that he was pleased with some drapery I had over my bed, so I gave it him, with some very good amber beads I wore on my neck, some colored shoes, and a bottle of orange-flower water. He was marvellously

well content, and both he and his tutor and councillors were very sorry that they could not understand me, nor I them. However, I knew that they said that, if I wanted anything, the whole island was at my disposal. I sent for some beads of mine, with which, as a charm, I had a gold *excelente*, on which your Highnesses were stamped. I showed it to him, and said, as I had done yesterday, that your Highnesses ruled the best part of the world, and that there were no Princes so great. I also showed him the royal standards, and the others with a cross, of which he thought much. He said to his councillors what great lords your Highnesses must be to have sent me from so far, even from heaven to this country, without fear. Many other things passed between them which I did not understand, except that it was easy to see that they held everything to be very wonderful."

When it got late, and the king wanted to go, the Admiral sent him on shore in his boat very honorably, and saluted him with many guns. Having landed, he got into his litter, and departed with his two hundred men, his son being carried behind on the shoulders of an Indian, a man highly respected. All the sailors and people from the ships were given to eat, and treated with much honor wherever they liked to stop. One sailor said that he had stopped in the road and seen all the things given by the Admiral. A man carried each one before the king, and these men appeared to be among those who were most respected. His son came a good distance behind the king, with a similar number of attendants, and the same with a brother of the king, except that the brother went on foot, supported under the arms by two honored attendants. This brother came to the ship after the king, and the Admiral presented him with some of the things used for barter. It was then that the Admiral learnt that a king was called *cacique* in their language. This day little gold was got by barter, but the Admiral heard from an old man that there were many neighboring islands, at a distance of a hundred leagues or more, as he understood, in

which much gold was found; and there was even one island that was all gold. In the others there was so much that it was said they gather it with sieves, and they fuse it and make bars, and work it in a thousand ways. They explained the work by signs. This old man pointed out to the Admiral the direction and position, and he determined to go there, saying that if the old man had not been a principal councillor of the king he would detain him, and make him go, too; or if he knew the language he would ask him, and he believed, as the old man was friendly with him and the other Christians, that he would go of his own accord. But as these people were now subjects of the King of Castille, and it would not be right to injure them, he decided upon leaving him. The Admiral set up a very large cross in the centre of the square of that village, the Indians giving much help; they made prayers and worshipped it, and, from the feeling they show, the Admiral trusted in our Lord that all the people of those islands would become Christians.

Wednesday, 19th of December.

This night the Admiral got under weigh to leave the gulf formed between the islands of Tortuga and Española, but at dawn of day a breeze sprang up from the E., against which he was unable to get clear of the strait between the two islands during the whole day. At night he was unable to reach a port which was in sight. He made out four points of land, and a great bay with a river, and beyond he saw a large bay, where there was a village, with a valley behind it among high mountains covered with trees, which appeared to be pines. Over the Two Brothers there is a very high mountain range running N. E. and S. W., and E. S. E. from the *Cabo de Torres* is a small island to which the Admiral gave the name of *Santo Tomas*, because tomorrow was his vigil. The whole circuit of this island alternates with capes and excellent harbors, so far as could be judged from the sea. Before coming to the island on the W. side, there is a cape which runs far into the sea,

in part high, the rest low; and for this reason the Admiral named it *Cabo alto y bajo*. From the road [Cabo] of Torres to E. S. E. sixty miles, there is a mountain higher than any that reaches the sea, and from a distance it looks like an island, owing to a depression on the land side. It was named *Monte Caribata*, because that province was called *Caribata*. It is very beautiful, and covered with green trees, without snow or clouds. The weather was then, as regards the air and temperature, like March in Castille, and as regards vegetation, like May. The nights lasted fourteen hours.

Thursday, 20th of December.

At sunrise they entered a port between the island of Santo Tomas and the *Cabo de Caribata*, and anchored. This port is very beautiful, and would hold all the ships in Christendom. The entrance appears impossible from the sea to those who have never entered, owing to some reefs of rocks which run from the mountainous cape almost to the island. They are not placed in a row, but one here, another there, some towards the sea, others near the land. It is therefore necessary to keep a good lookout for the entrances, which are wide and with a depth of seven fathoms, so that they can be used without fear. Inside the reefs there is a depth of twelve fathoms. A ship can lie with a cable made fast, against any wind that blows. At the entrance of this port there is a channel on the W. side of a sandy islet with seven fathoms, and many trees on its shore. But there are many sunken rocks in that direction, and a lookout should be kept up until the port is reached. Afterwards there is no need to fear the greatest storm in the world. From this port a very beautiful cultivated valley is in sight, descending from the S. E., surrounded by such lofty mountains that they appear to reach the sky, and covered with green trees. Without doubt there are mountains here which are higher than the island of Tenerife in the Canaries, which is held to be the highest yet known. On this side

of the island of Santo Tomas, at a distance of a league, there is another islet, and beyond it another, forming wonderful harbors; though a good lookout must be kept for sunken rocks. The Admiral also saw villages, and smoke made by them.

Friday, 21st of December.

To-day the Admiral went with the ship's boats to examine this port, which he found to be such that it could not be equalled by any he had yet seen; but, having praised the others so much, he knew not how to express himself, fearing that he will be looked upon as one who goes beyond the truth. He therefore contents himself with saying that he had old sailors with him who say the same. All the praises he has bestowed on the other ports are true, and that this is better than any of them is equally true. He further says: "I have traversed the sea for twenty-three years, without leaving it for any time worth counting, and I saw all in the east and the west, going on the route of the north, which is England, and I have been to Guinea, but in all those parts there will not be found perfection of harbors . . . always found . . . better than another; that I, with good care, saw written; and I again affirm it was well written, that this one is better than all others, and will hold all the ships of the world, secured with the oldest cables." From the entrance to the end is a distance of five leagues. The Admiral saw some very well cultivated lands, although they are all so, and he sent two of the boat's crew to the top of a hill to see if any village was near, for none could be seen from the sea. At about ten o'clock that night, certain Indians came in a canoe to see the Admiral and the Christians, and they were given presents, with which they were much pleased. The two men returned, and reported that they had seen a very large village at a short distance from the sea. The Admiral ordered the boat to row towards the place where the village was until they came near the land, when he saw two Indians, who came to the shore apparently in a state

of fear. So he ordered the boat to stop, and the Indians that were with the Admiral were told to assure the two natives that no harm whatever was intended to them. Then they came nearer the sea and the Admiral nearer the land. As soon as the natives had got rid of their fear, so many came that they covered the ground, with women and children, giving a thousand thanks. They ran hither and thither to bring us bread made of yams, which they call *ajes*, which is very white and good, and water in calabashes, and in earthen jars made like those of Spain, and everything else they had and that they thought the Admiral could want, and all so willingly and cheerfully that it was wonderful. "It cannot be said that, because what they gave was worth little, therefore they gave liberally, because those who had pieces of gold gave as freely as those who had a calabash of water; and it is easy to know when a thing is given with a hearty desire to give." These are the Admiral's words. "These people have no spears nor any other arms, nor have any of the inhabitants of the whole island, which I believe to be very large. They go naked as when their mothers bore them, both men and women. In Cuba and the other islands the women wear a small clout of cotton in front, as well as the men, as soon as they have passed the age of twelve years, but here neither old nor young do so. Also, the men in the other islands jealously hide their women from the Christians, but here they do not." The women have very beautiful bodies, and they were the first to come and give thanks to heaven, and to bring what they had, especially things to eat, such as bread of *ajes* [yams], nuts, and four or five kinds of fruits, some of which the Admiral ordered to be preserved, to be taken to the Sovereigns. He says that the women did not do less in other ports before they were hidden; and he always gave orders that none of his people should annoy them; that nothing should be taken against their wills, and that everything that was taken should be paid for. Finally, he says that no one could believe that there could be such good-hearted people, so free to give,

anxious to let the Christians have all they wanted, and, when visitors arrived, running to bring everything to them.

Afterwards the Admiral sent six Christians to the village to see what it was like, and the natives showed them all the honor they could devise, and gave them all they had; for no doubt was any longer entertained that the Admiral and all his people had come from heaven; and the same was believed by the Indians who were brought from the other islands, although they had now been told what they ought to think. When the six Christians had gone, some canoes came with people to ask the Admiral to come to their village when he left the place where he was. *Canoa* is a boat in which they navigate, some large and others small. Seeing that this village of the chief was on the road, and that many people were waiting there for him, the Admiral went there; but, before he could depart, an enormous crowd came to the shore, men, women, and children, crying out to him not to go, but to stay with them. The messengers from the other chief, who had come to invite him, were waiting with their canoes, that he might not go away, but come to see their chief, and so he did. On arriving where the chief was waiting for him with many things to eat, he ordered that all the people should sit down, and that the food should be taken to the boats, where the Admiral was, on the seashore. When he saw that the Admiral had received what he sent, all or most of the Indians ran to the village, which was near, to bring more food, parrots, and other things they had, with such frankness of heart that it was marvellous. The Admiral gave them glass beads, brass trinkets, and bells: not because they asked for anything in return, but because it seemed right, and, above all, because he now looked upon them as future Christians, and subjects of the Sovereigns, as much as the people of Castille. He further says that they want nothing except to know the language and be under governance; for all they may be told to do will be done without any contradiction. The Admiral left this place to go to the ships, and the people, men,

women, and children, cried out to him not to go, but remain with them. After the boats departed, several canoes full of people followed after them to the ship, who were received with much honor, and given to eat. There had also come before another chief from the W., and many people even came swimming, the ship being over a good half-league from the shore. I sent certain persons to the chief, who had gone back, to ask him about these islands. He received them very well, and took them to his village, to give them some large pieces of gold. They arrived at a large river, which the Indians crossed by swimming. The Christians were unable, so they turned back. In all this district there are very high mountains which seem to reach the sky, so that the mountain in the island of Tenerife appears as nothing in height and beauty, and they are all green with trees. Between them there are very delicious valleys, and at the end of this port, to the S., there is a valley so large that the end of it is not visible, though no mountains intervene, so that it seems to be fifteen or twenty leagues long. A river flows through it, and it is all inhabited and cultivated, and as green as Castille in May or June; but the night contains fourteen hours, the land being so far N. This port is very good for all the winds that can blow, being enclosed and deep, and the shores peopled by a good and gentle race without arms or evil designs. Any ship may lie within it without fear that other ships will enter at night to attack her, because, although the entrance is over two leagues wide, it is protected by reefs of rocks which are barely awash; and there is only a very narrow channel through the reef, which looks as if it had been artificially made, leaving an open door by which ships may enter. In the entrance there are seven fathoms of depth up to the shore of a small flat island, which has a beach fringed with trees. The entrance is on the W. side, and a ship can come without fear until she is close to the rock. On the N. W. side there are three islands, and a great river a league from the cape on one side of the port. It is the best harbor in the

world, and the Admiral gave it the name of *Puerto de la mar de Santo Tomas*, because to-day it was that Saint's day. The Admiral called it a sea, owing to its size.

Saturday, 22nd of December.

At dawn the Admiral made sail to shape a course in search of the islands which the Indians had told him contained much gold, some of them having more gold than earth. But the weather was not favorable, so he anchored again, and sent away the boat to fish with a net. The lord of that land, who had a place near there, sent a large canoe full of people, including one of his principal attendants, to invite the Admiral to come with the ships to his land, where he would give him all he wanted. The chief sent, by this servant, a girdle which, instead of a bag, had attached to it a mask with two large ears made of beaten gold, the tongue, and the nose. These people are very open-hearted, and whatever they are asked for they give most willingly; while, when they themselves ask for anything, they do so as if receiving a great favor. So says the Admiral. They brought the canoe alongside the boat, and gave the girdle to a boy; then they came on board with their mission. It took a good part of the day before they could be understood. Not even the Indians who were on board understood them well, because they have some differences of words for the names of things. At last their invitation was understood by signs. The Admiral determined to start to-morrow, although he did not usually sail on a Sunday, owing to a devout feeling, and not on account of any superstition whatever. But in the hope that these people would become Christians through the willingness they show, and that they will be subjects of the Sovereigns of Castille, and because he now holds them to be so, and that they may serve with love, he wished and endeavored to please them. Before leaving, to-day, the Admiral sent six men to a large village three leagues to the westward, because the chief had come the day before and said that he

had some pieces of gold. When the Christians arrived, the Secretary of the Admiral, who was one of them, took the chief by the hand. The Admiral had sent him, to prevent the others from imposing upon the Indians. As the Indians are so simple, and the Spaniards so avaricious and grasping, it does not suffice that the Indians should give them all they want in exchange for a bead or a bit of glass, but the Spaniards would take everything without any return at all. The Admiral always prohibits this, although, with the exception of gold, the things given by the Indians are of little value. But the Admiral, seeing the simplicity of the Indians, and that they will give a piece of gold in exchange for six beads, gave the order that nothing should be received from them unless something had been given in exchange. Thus the chief took the Secretary by the hand and led him to his house, followed by the whole village, which was very large. He made his guests eat, and the Indians brought them many cotton fabrics, and spun cotton in skeins. In the afternoon the chief gave them three very fat geese and some small pieces of gold. A great number of people went back with them, carrying all the things they had got by barter, and they also carried the Spaniards themselves across streams and muddy places. The Admiral ordered some things to be given to the chief, and both he and his people were very well satisfied, truly believing that the Christians had come from heaven, so that they considered themselves fortunate in beholding them. On this day more than one hundred and twenty canoes came to the ships, all full of people, and all bringing something, especially their bread and fish, and fresh water in earthen jars. They also brought seeds of good kinds, and there was a grain which they put into a porringer of water and drank it. The Indians who were on board said that this was very wholesome.

Sunday, 23rd of December.

The Admiral could not go with the ships to that land whither he had been invited by the chief, because there

was no wind. But he sent, with the three messengers who were waiting for the boats, some people, including the Secretary. While they were gone, he sent two of the Indians he had on board with him to the villages which were near the anchorage. They returned to the ship with a chief, who brought the news that there was a great quantity of gold in that island of Española, and that people from other parts came to buy it. They said that here the Admiral would find as much as he wanted. Others came, who confirmed the statement that there was much gold in the island, and explained the way it was collected. The Admiral understood all this with much difficulty; nevertheless, he concluded that there was a very great quantity in those parts, and that, if he could find the place whence it was got, there would be abundance; and, if not, there would be nothing. He believed there must be a great deal, because, during the three days that he had been in that port, he had got several pieces of gold, and he could not believe that it was brought from another land. "Our Lord, who holds all things in his hands, look upon me, and grant what shall be for his service." These are the Admiral's words. He says that, according to his reckoning, a thousand people had visited the ship, all of them bringing something. Before they come alongside, at a distance of a crossbow-shot, they stand up in the canoe with what they bring in their hands, crying out: "Take it! take it!" He also reckoned that five hundred came to the ship swimming, because they had no canoes, the ship being near a league from the shore. Among the visitors, five chiefs had come, sons of chiefs, with all their families of wives and children, to see the Christians. The Admiral ordered something to be given to all, because such gifts were all well employed. "May our Lord favor me by his clemency, that I may find this gold, I mean the mine of gold which I hold to be here, many saying that they know it." These are his words. The boats arrived at night, and said that there was a grand road as far as they went, and they found many canoes, with people who went

to see the Admiral and the Christians, at the mountain of Caribatan. They held it for certain that, if the Christmas festival was kept in that port, all the people of the island would come, which they calculated to be larger than England. All the people went with them to the village, which they said was the largest, and the best laid out with streets, of any they had seen. The Admiral says it is a part of the *Punta Santa*, almost three leagues S. E. The canoes go very fast with paddles; so they went ahead to apprise the cacique, as they call the chief. They also have another greater name—*Nitayno;* but it was not clear whether they used it for lord, or governor, or judge. At last the cacique came to them, and joined them in the square, which was clean swept, as was all the village. The population numbered over two thousand men. This king did great honor to the people from the ship, and every inhabitant brought them something to eat and drink. Afterwards the king gave each of them cotton cloths such as the women wear, with parrots for the Admiral, and some pieces of gold. The people also gave cloths and other things from their houses to the sailors; and as for the trifles they got in return, they seemed to look upon them as relics. When they wanted to return in the afternoon, he asked them to stay until the next day, and all the people did the same. When they saw that the Spaniards were determined to go, they accompanied them most of the way, carrying the gifts of the cacique on their backs as far as the boats, which had been left at the mouth of the river.

Monday, 24th of December.

Before sunrise the Admiral got under weigh with the land breeze. Among the numerous Indians who had come to the ship yesterday, and had made signs that there was gold in the island, naming the places whence it was collected, the Admiral noticed one who seemed more fully informed, or who spoke with more willingness, so he asked him to come with the Christians and show them the position

of the gold mines. This Indian has a companion or relation with him, and among other places they mentioned where gold was found, they named Cipango, which they called *Civao*. Here they said that there was a great quantity of gold, and that the cacique carried banners of beaten gold. But they added that it was very far off to the eastward.

Here the Admiral addresses the following words to the Sovereigns: "Your Highnesses may believe that there is no better nor gentler people in the world. Your Highnesses ought to rejoice that they will soon become Christians, and that they will be taught the good customs of your kingdom. A better race there cannot be, and both the people and the lands are in such quantity that I know not how to write it. I have spoken in the superlative degree of the country and the people of Juana, which they call Cuba, but there is as much difference between them and this island and people as between day and night. I believe that no one who should see them could say less than I have said, and I repeat that the things and the great villages of this island of Española, which they call Bohio, are wonderful. All here have a loving manner and gentle speech, unlike the others, who seem to be menacing when they speak. Both men and women are of good stature, and not black. It is true that they all paint, some with black, others with other colors, but most with red. I know that they are tanned by the sun, but this does not affect them much. Their houses and villages are pretty, each with a chief, who acts as their judge, and who is obeyed by them. All these lords use few words, and have excellent manners. Most of their orders are given by a sign with the hand, which is understood with surprising quickness." All these are the words of the Admiral.

He who would enter the sea of *Santo Tomé* ought to stand for a good league across the mouth to a flat island in the middle, which was named *La Amiga*, pointing her head towards it. When the ship is within a stone's throw of it

the course should be altered to make for the eastern shore, leaving the W. side, and this shore, and not the other, should be kept on board, because a great reef runs out from the W., and even beyond that there are three sunken rocks. This reef comes within a lombard-shot of the Amiga island. Between them there are seven fathoms at least, with a gravelly bottom. Within, a harbor will be found large enough for all the ships in the world, which would be there without need of cables. There is another reef, with sunken rocks, on the E. side of the island of Amiga, which are extensive and run out to sea, reaching within two leagues of the cape. But it appeared that between them there was an entrance, within two lombard-shots of Amiga, on the W. side of Monte Caribatan, where there was a good and very large port.

Tuesday, 25th of December. Christmas.

Navigating yesterday, with little wind, from Santo Tomé to Punta Santa, and being a league from it, at about eleven o'clock at night the Admiral went down to get some sleep, for he had not had any rest for two days and a night. As it was calm, the sailor who steered the ship thought he would go to sleep, leaving the tiller in charge of a boy. The Admiral had forbidden this throughout the voyage, whether it was blowing or whether it was calm. The boys were never to be intrusted with the helm. The Admiral had no anxiety respecting sandbanks and rocks, because, when he sent the boats to that king on Sunday, they had passed to the E. of Punta Santa at least three leagues and a half, and the sailors had seen all the coast, and the rocks there are from Punta Santa, for a distance of three leagues to the E. S. E. They saw the course that should be taken, which had not been the case before during this voyage. It pleased our Lord that, at twelve o'clock at night, when the Admiral had retired to rest, and when all had fallen asleep, seeing that it was a dead calm and the sea like glass, the tiller being in the hands of a boy, the current carried

the ship on one of the sandbanks. If it had not been night the bank could have been seen, and the surf on it could be heard for a good league. But the ship ran upon it so gently that it could scarcely be felt. The boy, who felt the helm and heard the rush of the sea, cried out. The Admiral at once came up, and so quickly that no one had felt that the ship was aground. Presently the master of the ship, whose watch it was, came on deck. The Admiral ordered him and others to launch the boat, which was on the poop, and lay out an anchor astern. The master, with several others, got into the boat, and the Admiral thought that they did so with the object of obeying his orders. But they did so in order to take refuge with the caravel, which was half a league to leeward. The caravel would not allow them to come on board, acting judiciously, and they therefore returned to the ship; but the caravel's boat arrived first. When the Admiral saw that his own people fled in this way, the water rising and the ship being across the sea, seeing no other course, he ordered the masts to be cut away and the ship to be lightened as much as possible, to see if she would come off. But, as the water continued to rise, nothing more could be done. Her side fell over across the sea, but it was nearly calm. Then the timbers opened, and the ship was lost. The Admiral went to the caravel to arrange about the reception of the ship's crew, and as a light breeze was blowing from the land, and continued during the greater part of the night, while it was unknown how far the bank extended, he hove her to until daylight. He then went back to the ship, inside the reef; first having sent a boat on shore with Diego de Arana of Cordova, Alguazil of the Fleet, and Pedro Gutierrez, gentleman of the King's bed chamber, to inform the king, who had invited the ships to come on the previous Saturday. His town was about a league and a half from the sandbank. They reported that he wept when he heard the news, and he sent all his people with large canoes to unload the ship. This was done, and they landed all there

was between decks in a very short time. Such was the great promptitude and diligence shown by that king. He himself, with his brothers and relations, were actively assisting as well in the ship as in the care of the property when it was landed, that all might be properly guarded. Now and then he sent one of his relations weeping to the Admiral, to console him, saying that he must not feel sorrow or annoyance, for he would supply all that was needed. The Admiral assured the Sovereigns that there could not have been such good watch kept in any part of Castille, for that there was not even a needle missing. He ordered that all the property should be placed by some houses which the king placed at his disposal, until they were emptied, when everything would be stowed and guarded in them. Armed men were placed round the stores to watch all night. "The king and all his people wept. They are a loving people, without covetousness, and fit for anything; and I assure your Highnesses that there is no better land nor people. They love their neighbors as themselves, and their speech is the sweetest and gentlest in the world, and always with a smile. Men and women go as naked as when their mothers bore them. Your Highnesses should believe that they have very good customs among themselves. The king is a man of remarkable presence, and with a certain self-contained manner that is a pleasure to see. They have good memories, wish to see everything, and ask the use of what they see." All this is written by the Admiral.

Wednesday, 26th of December.

To-day, at sunrise, the king of that land came to the caravel *Niña*, where the Admiral was, and said to him, almost weeping, that he need not be sorry, for that he would give him all he had; that he had placed two large houses at the disposal of the Christians who were on shore, and that he would give more if they were required, and as many canoes as could load from the ship and discharge on

shore, with as many people as were wanted. This had all been done yesterday, without so much as a needle being missed. "So honest are they," says the Admiral, "without any covetousness for the goods of others, and so above all was that virtuous king." While the Admiral was talking to him, another canoe arrived from a different place, bringing some pieces of gold, which the people in the canoe wanted to exchange for a hawk's bell; for there was nothing they desired more than these bells. They had scarcely come alongside when they called and held up the gold, saying *Chuq chuq* for the bells, for they are quite mad about them. After the king had seen this, and when the canoes which came from other places had departed, he called the Admiral and asked him to give orders that one of the bells was to be kept for another day, when he would bring four pieces of gold the size of a man's hand. The Admiral rejoiced to hear this, and afterwards a sailor, who came from the shore, told him that it was wonderful what pieces of gold the men on shore were getting in exchange for next to nothing. For a needle they got a piece of gold worth two *castellanos*, and that this was nothing to what it would be within a month. The king rejoiced much when he saw that the Admiral was pleased. He understood that his friend wanted much gold, and he said, by signs, that he knew where there was, in the vicinity, a very large quantity; so that he must be in good heart, for he should have as much as he wanted. He gave some account of it, especially saying that in Cipango, which they call Civao, it is so abundant that it is of no value, and that they will bring it, although there is also much more in the island of Española, which they call Bohio, and in the province of Caritaba. The king dined on board the caravel with the Admiral and afterwards went on shore, where he received the Admiral with much honor. He gave him a collation consisting of three or four kinds of yams, with shellfish and game, and other viands they have, besides the bread they call *cazavi*. He then took the Admiral to see some groves of trees near

the houses, and they were accompanied by at least a thousand people, all naked. The lord had on a shirt and a pair of gloves, given to him by the Admiral, and he was more delighted with the gloves than with anything else. In his manner of eating, both as regards the high-bred air and peculiar cleanliness, he clearly showed his nobility. After he had eaten, he remained some time at table, and they brought him certain herbs, with which he rubbed his hands. The Admiral thought that this was done to make them soft, and they also gave him water for his hands. After the meal he took the Admiral to the beach. The Admiral then sent for a Turkish bow and a quiver of arrows, and took a shot at a man of his company, who had been warned. The chief, who knew nothing about arms, as they neither have them nor use them, thought this a wonderful thing. He, however, began to talk of those of Caniba, whom they call Caribes. They come to capture the natives, and have bows and arrows without iron, of which there is no memory in any of these lands, nor of steel, nor any other metal, except gold and copper. Of copper the Admiral had only seen very little. The Admiral said, by signs, that the Sovereigns of Castille would order the Caribs to be destroyed, and that all should be taken with their heads tied together. He ordered a lombard and a hand gun to be fired off, and seeing the effect caused by its force and what the shots penetrated, the king was astonished. When his people heard the explosion they all fell on the ground. They brought the Admiral a large mask, which had pieces of gold for the eyes and ears and in other parts, and this they gave, with other trinkets of gold that the same king had put on the head and round the neck of the Admiral, and of other Christians, to whom they also gave many pieces. The Admiral received much pleasure and consolation from these things, which tempered the anxiety and sorrow he felt at the loss of the ship. He knew our Lord had caused the ship to stop here, that a settlement might be formed. "From this," he says, "originated so many things that, in truth, the disaster was

really a piece of good fortune. For it is certain that, if I had not lost the ship, I should have gone on without anchoring in this place, which is within a great bay, having two or three reefs of rock. I should not have left people in the country during this voyage, nor even, if I had desired to leave them, should I have been able to obtain so much information, nor such supplies and provisions for a fortress. And true it is that many people had asked me to give them leave to remain. Now I have given orders for a tower and a fort, both well built, and a large cellar, not because I believe that such defences will be necessary. I believe that with the force I have with me I could subjugate the whole island, which I believe to be larger than Portugal, and the population double. But they are naked and without arms, and hopelessly timid. Still, it is advisable to build this tower, being so far from your Highnesses. The people may thus know the skill of the subjects of your Highnesses, and what they can do; and will obey them with love and fear. So they make preparations to build the fortress, with provision of bread and wine for more than a year, with seeds for sowing, the ship's boat, a caulker and carpenter, a gunner and cooper. Many among these men have a great desire to serve your Highnesses and to please me, by finding out where the mine is whence the gold is brought. Thus everything is got in readiness to begin the work. Above all, it was so calm that there was scarcely wind nor wave when the ship ran aground." This is what the Admiral says; and he adds more to show that it was great good luck, and the settled design of God, that the ship should be lost in order that people might be left behind. If it had not been for the treachery of the master and his boat's crew, who were all or mostly his countrymen, in neglecting to lay out the anchor so as to haul the ship off in obedience to the Admiral's orders, she would have been saved. In that case, the same knowledge of the land as has been gained in these days would not have been secured, for the Admiral always proceeded with the object of discovering,

and never intended to stop more than a day at any one place, unless he was detained by the wind. Still, the ship was very heavy and unsuited for discovery. It was the people of Palos who obliged him to take such a ship, by not complying "with what they had promised to the King and Queen, namely, to supply suitable vessels for this expedition. This they did not do. Of all that there was on board the ship, not a needle, nor a board, nor a nail was lost, for she remained as whole as when she sailed, except that it was necessary to cut away and level down in order to get out the jars and merchandise, which were landed and carefully guarded." He trusted in God that, when he returned from Spain, according to his intention, he would find a ton of gold collected by barter by those he was to leave behind, and that they would have found the mine, and spices in such quantities that the Sovereigns would, in three years, be able to undertake and fit out an expedition to go and conquer the Holy Sepulchre. "Thus," he says, "I protest to your Highnesses that all the profits of this my enterprise may be spent in the conquest of Jerusalem. Your Highnesses may laugh, and say that it is pleasing to you, and that, without this, you entertain that desire." These are the Admiral's words.

Thursday, 27th of December.

The king of that land came alongside the caravel at sunrise, and said that he had sent for gold, and that he would collect all he could before the Admiral departed; but he begged him not to go. The king and one of his brothers, with another very intimate relation, dined with the Admiral, and the two latter said they wished to go to Castille with him. At this time the news came that the caravel *Pinta* was in a river at the end of this island. Presently the cacique sent a canoe there, and the Admiral sent a sailor in it. For it was wonderful how devoted the cacique was to the Admiral. The necessity was now evident of hurrying on preparations for the return to Castille.

Friday, 28th of December.

The Admiral went on shore to give orders and hurry on the work of building the fort, and to settle what men should remain behind. The king, it would seem, had watched him getting into the boat, and quickly went into his house, dissimulating, sending one of his brothers to receive the Admiral, and conduct him to one of the houses that had been set aside for the Spaniards, which was the largest and best in the town. In it there was a couch made of palm matting, where they sat down. Afterwards the brother sent an attendant to say that the Admiral was there, as if the king did not know that he had come. The Admiral, however, believed that this was a feint in order to do him more honor. The attendant gave the message and the cacique came in great haste, and put a large soft piece of gold he had in his hand round the Admiral's neck. They remained together until the evening, arranging what had to be done.

Saturday, 29th of December.

A very youthful nephew of the king came to the caravel at sunrise, who showed a good understanding and disposition. As the Admiral was always working to find out the origin of the gold, he asked every one, for he could now understand somewhat by signs. This youth told him that, at a distance of four days' journey, there was an island to the eastward called *Guarionex*, and others called *Macorix*, *Mayonic*, *Fuma*, *Civao*, and *Coroay*, in which there was plenty of gold. The Admiral wrote these names down, and now understood what had been said by a brother of the king, who was annoyed with him, as the Admiral understood. At other times the Admiral had suspected that the king had worked against his knowing where the gold had its origin and was collected, that he might not go away to barter in another part of the island. For there are such a number of places in this same island that it is wonderful. After nightfall the king sent a large mask of gold, and asked

for a washhand basin and jug. The Admiral thought he wanted them for patterns to copy from, and therefore sent them.

Sunday, 30th of December.

The Admiral went on shore to dinner, and came at a time when five chiefs had arrived, all with their crowns, who were subject to this king, named *Guacanagari*. They represented a very good state of affairs, and the Admiral says to the Sovereigns that it would have given them pleasure to see the manner of their arrival. On landing, the Admiral was received by the king, who led him by the arms to the same house where he was yesterday, where there were chairs, and a couch on which the Admiral sat. Presently the king took the crown off his head and put it on the Admiral's head, and the Admiral took from his neck a collar of beautiful beads of several different colors, which looked very well in all its parts, and put it on the king. He also took off a cloak of fine material, in which he had dressed himself that day, and dressed the king in it, and sent for some colored boots, which he put on his feet, and he put a large silver ring on his finger, because he had heard that he had admired greatly a silver ornament worn by one of the sailors. The king was highly delighted and well satisfied, and two of those chiefs who were with him came with him to where the Admiral was, and each gave him a large piece of gold. At this time an Indian came and reported that it was two days since he left the caravel *Pinta* in a port to the eastward. The Admiral returned to the caravel, and Vicente Anes, the captain, said that he had seen the rhubarb plant, and that they had it on the island Amiga, which is at the entrance of the sea of Santo Tomé, six leagues off, and that he had recognized the branches and roots. They say that rhubarb forms small branches above ground, and fruit like green mulberries, almost dry, and the stalk, near the root, is as yellow and delicate as the best color for painting, and underground the roots grow like a large pear.

Monday, 31st of December.

To-day the Admiral was occupied in seeing that water and fuel were taken on board for the voyage to Spain, to give early notice to the Sovereigns, that they might despatch ships to complete the discoveries. For now the business appeared to be so great and important that the Admiral was astonished. He did not wish to go until he had examined all the land to the eastward, and explored the coast, so as to know the route to Castille, with a view to sending sheep and cattle. But as he had been left with only a single vessel, it did not appear prudent to encounter the dangers that are inevitable in making discoveries. He complained that all this inconvenience had been caused by the caravel *Pinta* having parted company.

CHAPTER VI

JOURNAL OF THE FIRST VOYAGE—(Continued)

THE TRIUMPHANT RETURN

The first Christmas Day Columbus spent in the New World was not a merry one for him, for on December 24th occurred a disaster which might easily have resulted in frustrating all his ambitions. As recorded in the journal, while at Cape Haitien the *Santa Maria* was wrecked and irreparably lost: this left Columbus with only the *Niña*, the smallest vessel of the little fleet. On the 21st of November, Martin Alonso Pinzon had sailed away without consulting the admiral or appointing a rendezvous. His evident intention was to exercise absolute control of the vessel he commanded. Whether his further intention was to prosecute the work of exploration on his own account or to return immediately to Spain, the admiral could not determine. This brings to our attention one of the difficulties attending this narrative of the first voyage. What were the true relations existing between Columbus and Pinzon? The journal throws much blame on the conduct of the latter. In the entry for November 21st, it is said that Pinzon took his departure through avarice. He had received information from an Indian of a locality where he was led to believe that gold might be found in greater quantities than had yet come to their knowledge. This is the statement of Las Casas. That writer—whose intention of speaking the truth can be absolutely trusted—quotes Columbus's own words when he says: "He [Pinzon] has done

and said many other things to me." Evidently there was no little friction between the admiral and his chief subordinate. Some students have explained this by considerations which lead to the conclusion that Pinzon, in knowledge and importance, was far nearer the level of Columbus than is the position allotted him by the traditional account.—(See Vignaud's *Toscanelli and Columbus*, 233.) It is well established that Pinzon had been of very great service to Columbus, so much so, indeed, that it was through him alone that the admiral, after having received the commission of the sovereigns, was enabled to obtain the needed ships. But that Pinzon was jealously anxious to participate to at least an equal extent in the honors of success is equally clear. He rejoined Columbus on the 6th of January, and was able to furnish but lame excuses for his absence. He had in the meantime discovered Haiti, or San Domingo. It had been the admiral's intention to continue his explorations on his homeward course; but owing to his distrust of the Pinzons, who seem to have attached a party to themselves, he determined to return to Spain as quickly as possible, lest he might be forestalled. The two vessels started together on the homeward voyage; but during a severe storm the *Pinta* sailed away from the little *Niña*, and Pinzon was the first to reach the coast of Spain. From Bayona in Galicia he sent word to the sovereigns of his return; but he was not allowed by them to approach the court without Columbus. That Martin Alonso Pinzon died shortly after this is true; but that his death was caused by chagrin is probably more in accord with Las Casas's view of his deserts than with the real facts of the case.

It is entirely characteristic of Columbus's belief that he was under the direct guidance of Providence when he argues a good fortune out of the loss of the *Santa Maria*. Had it not been for this mishap, he said, he would not have landed at La Navidad. Nor would he have left a company of men there who, as he hoped, would accumulate "a ton of gold," by trading with the natives, by the time of his

return. His piety is also attested by the fact that he had long since devoted his share of this expected fortune to a crusade for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre. But in this he was doomed to bitter disappointment. The history of the men whom he left in the fortress constructed out of the wreckage of the *Santa Maria* is not given in the journal. It is the beginning of the sad story of the occupation of the western world by the Spaniards. Unheeding the wise parting counsel of the admiral, the men he left courted and incurred their own destruction. The natives among whom they resided were wonderfully peaceful and kindly disposed. But the Spaniards were the offscourings of their own land. Though shown every favor by Guacanagari, they brutally robbed his subjects, gave free rein to every lust, quarrelled among themselves, became insubordinate to their commander, and finally a small party wandered into a territory ruled by a fierce Carib chief. This savage, after destroying the invading band, attacked La Navidad, and, though the Spaniards were assisted by the natives whom they had abused, the fort was razed to the ground and every white man killed.

The narrative of the return voyage, with its perils by storm, and hindrances, friendly and otherwise, by the Portuguese, we will leave the journal to tell.

Tuesday, 1st of January, 1493.

At midnight the Admiral sent a boat to the island Amiga to bring the rhubarb. It returned at vespers with a bundle of it. They did not bring more, because they had no spade to dig it up with; it was taken to be shown to the Sovereigns. The king of that land said that he had sent many canoes for gold. The canoe returned that had been sent for tidings of the *Pinta*, without having found her. The sailor who went in the canoe said that twenty leagues from there he had seen a king who wore two large plates of gold on his head, but when the Indians in the canoe spoke to him he took them off. He also saw much gold

on other people. The Admiral considered that the King Guacanagari ought to have prohibited his people from selling gold to the Christians, in order that it might all pass through his hands. But the king knew the places, as before stated, where there was such a quantity that it was not valued. The spicery also is extensive, and is worth more than pepper or *manegueta*. He left instructions to those who wished to remain that they were to collect as much as they could.

Wednesday, 2nd of January.

In the morning the Admiral went on shore to take leave of the King Guacanagari, and to depart from him in the name of the Lord. He gave him one of his shirts. In order to show him the force of the lombards, and what effect they had, he ordered one to be loaded and fired into the side of the ship that was on shore, for this was apposite to the conversation respecting the Caribs, with whom Guacanagari was at war. The king saw whence the lombard-shot came, and how it passed through the side of the ship and went far away over the sea. The Admiral also ordered a skirmish of the crews of the ships, fully armed, saying to the cacique that he need have no fear of the Caribs even if they should come. All this was done that the king might look upon the men who were left behind as friends, and that he might also have a proper fear of them. The king took the Admiral to dinner at the house where he was established, and the others who came with him. The Admiral strongly recommended to his friendship Diego de Arana, Pedro Gutierrez, and Rodrigo Escovedo, whom he left jointly as his lieutenants over the people who remained behind, that all might be well regulated and governed for the service of their Highnesses. The cacique showed much love for the Admiral, and great sorrow at his departure, especially when he saw him go on board. A relation of that king said to the Admiral that he had ordered a statue of pure gold to be made, as big as the Admiral, and that it would be brought within ten days. The Admiral

embarked with the intention of sailing presently, but there was no wind.

He left on that island of Española, which the Indians call Bohio, thirty-nine men with the fortress, and he says that they were great friends of Guacanagari. The lieutenants placed over them were Diego de Arana of Cordova, Pedro Gutierrez, gentleman of the King's bed chamber, and Rodrigo Escovedo, a native of Segovia, nephew of Fray Rodrigo Perez, with all the powers he himself received from the Sovereigns. He left behind all the merchandise which had been provided for bartering, which was much, that they might trade for gold. He also left bread for a year's supply, wine, and much artillery. He also left the ship's boat, that they, most of them being sailors, might go, when the time seemed convenient, to discover the gold mine, in order that the Admiral, on his return, might find much gold. They were also to find a good site for a town, for this was not altogether a desirable port; especially as the gold the natives brought came from the east; also, the farther to the east the nearer to Spain. He also left seeds for sowing, and his officers, the Alguazil and Secretary, as well as a ship's carpenter, a caulker, a good gunner well acquainted with artillery, a cooper, a physician, and a tailor, all being seamen as well.

Thursday, 3rd of January.

The Admiral did not go to-day, because three of the Indians he had brought from the islands, and who had stayed behind, arrived, and said that the others with their women would be there at sunrise. The sea also was rather rough, so that they could not land from the boat. He determined to depart to-morrow, with the grace of God. The Admiral said that if he had the caravel *Pinta* with him he could make sure of shipping a ton of gold, because he could then follow the coasts of these islands, which he would not do alone, for fear some accident might impede his return to Castille, and prevent him from reporting all he had discovered to the Sovereigns. If it was certain that the

caravel *Pinta* would arrive safely in Spain with Martin Alonso Pinzon, he would not hesitate to act as he desired; but as he had no certain tidings of him, and as he might return and tell lies to the Sovereigns, that he might not receive the punishment he deserved for having done so much harm in having parted company without permission, and impeded the good service that might have been done, the Admiral could only trust in our Lord that he would grant favorable weather, and remedy all things.

Friday, 4th of January.

At sunrise the Admiral weighed the anchor, with little wind, and turned her head N. W. to get clear of the reef, by another channel wider than the one by which he entered, which, with others, is very good for coming in front of the *Villa de la Navidad*, in all which the least depth is from three to nine fathoms. These two channels run N. W. and S. E., and the reefs are long, extending from the *Cabo Santo* to the *Cabo de Sierpe* for more than six leagues, and then a good three leagues out to sea. At a league outside Cabo Santo there are not more than eight fathoms of depth, and inside that cape, on the E. side, there are many sunken rocks, and channels to enter between them. All this coast trends N. W. and S. E., and it is all beach, with the land very level for about a quarter of a league inland. After that distance there are very high mountains, and the whole is peopled with a very good race, as they showed themselves to the Christians. Thus the Admiral navigated to the E., shaping a course for a very high mountain, which looked like an island, but is not one, being joined to the mainland by a very low neck. The mountain has the shape of a very beautiful tent. He gave it the name of *Monte Cristi*. It is due E. of Cabo Santo, at a distance of eighteen leagues. That day, owing to the light wind, they could not reach within six leagues of Monte Cristi. He discovered four very low and sandy islets, with a reef extending N. W. and S. E. Inside, there is a large gulf, which

extends from this mountain to the S. E. at least twenty leagues, which must all be shallow, with many sandbanks, and inside numerous rivers which are not navigable. At the same time, the sailor who was sent in the canoe to get tidings of the *Pinta* reported that he saw a river into which ships might enter. The Admiral anchored at a distance of six leagues from Monte Cristi, in nineteen fathoms, and so kept clear of many rocks and reefs. Here he remained for the night. The Admiral gives notice to those who would go to the Villa de la Navidad that, to make Monte Cristi, he should stand off the land two leagues, etc. [But as the coast is now known it is not given here.] The Admiral concluded that Cipango was in that island, and that it contained much gold, spices, mastick, and rhubarb.

Saturday, 5th of January.

At sunrise the Admiral made sail with the land breeze, and saw that to the S. S. E. of Monte Cristi, between it and an island, there seemed to be a good port to anchor in that night. He shaped an E. S. E. course, afterwards S. S. E., for six leagues round the high land, and found a depth of seventeen fathoms, with a very clean bottom, going on for three leagues with the same soundings. Afterwards it shallowed to twelve fathoms up to the *morro* of the mountain, and off the *morro*, at one league, the depth of nine fathoms was found, the bottom clean, and all fine sand. The Admiral followed the same course until he came between the mountain and the island, where he found three and one-half fathoms at low water, a very good port, and here he anchored. He went in the boat to the islet, where he found remains of fire and footmarks, showing that fishermen had been there. Here they saw many stones painted in colors, or a quarry of such stones, very beautifully worked by nature, suited for the building of a church or other public work, like those he found on the island of San Salvador. On this islet he also found many plants of mastick. He says that this Monte Cristi is very fine and high, but accessible, and of a

very beautiful shape, all the land round it being low, a very fine plain, from which the height rises, looking at a distance like an island disunited from other land. Beyond the mountain, to the E., he saw a cape at a distance of twenty-four miles, which he named *Cabo del Becerro*, whence to the mountain for two leagues there are reefs of rocks, though it appeared as if there were navigable channels between them. It would, however, be advisable to approach in daylight, and to send a boat ahead to sound. From the mountain eastward to Cabo del Becerro, for four leagues, there is a beach, and the land is low, but the rest is very high, with beautiful mountains and some cultivation. Inland, a chain of mountains runs N. E. and S. W., the most beautiful he had seen, appearing like the hills of Cordova. Some other very lofty mountains appear in the distance towards the S. and S. E., and very extensive green valleys with large rivers: all this in such quantity that he did not believe he had exaggerated a thousandth part. Afterwards he saw, to the eastward of the mountain, a land which appeared like that of Monte Cristi in size and beauty. Further to the E. and N. E. there is land which is not so high, extending for some hundred miles or near it.

Sunday, 6th of January.

That port is sheltered from all winds, except N. and N. W., and these winds seldom blow in this region. Even when the wind is from those quarters, shelter may be found near the islet in three or four fathoms. At sunset the Admiral made sail to proceed along the coast, the course being E., except that it is necessary to look out for several reefs of stone and sand, within which there are good anchorages, with channels leading to them. After noon it blew fresh from the E. The Admiral ordered a sailor to go to the mast head to look out for reefs, and he saw the caravel *Pinta* coming, with the wind aft, and she joined the Admiral. As there was no place to anchor, owing to the rocky bottom, the Admiral returned for ten leagues to Monte Cristi,

with the *Pinta* in company. Martin Alonso Pinzon came on board the caravel *Niña*, where the Admiral was, and excused himself by saying that he had parted company against his will, giving reasons for it. But the Admiral says that they were all false; and that on the night when Pinzon parted company he was influenced by pride and covetousness. He could not understand whence had come the insolence and disloyalty with which Pinzon had treated him during the voyage. The Admiral had taken no notice, because he did not wish to give place to the evil works of Satan, who desired to impede the voyage. It appeared that one of the Indians, who had been put on board the caravel by the Admiral with others, had said that there was much gold in an island called Babeque, and, as Pinzon's vessel was light and swift, he determined to go there, parting company with the Admiral, who wished to remain and explore the coasts of Juana and Española, with an easterly course. When Martin Alonso arrived at the island of Babeque he found no gold. He then went to the coast of Española, on information from the Indians that there was a great quantity of gold and many mines in that island of Española, which the Indians call Bohio. He thus arrived near the Villa de Navidad, about fifteen leagues from it, having then been absent more than twenty days, so that the news brought by the Indians was correct, on account of which the King Guacanagari sent a canoe, and the Admiral put a sailor on board; but the *Pinta* must have gone before the canoe arrived. The Admiral says that the *Pinta* obtained much gold by barter, receiving large pieces the size of two fingers in exchange for a needle. Martin Alonso took half, dividing the other half among the crew. The Admiral then says: "Thus I am convinced that our Lord miraculously caused that vessel to remain here, this being the best place in the whole island to form a settlement, and the nearest to the gold mines." He also says that he knew "of another great island, to the S. of the island of Juana, in which there is more gold than in this island, so

that they collect it in bits the size of beans, while in Española they find the pieces the size of grains of corn." They call that island *Yamaye*. The Admiral also heard of an island further E., in which there were only women, having been told this by many people. He was also informed that Yamaye and the island of Española were ten days' journey in a canoe from the mainland, which would be about seventy or eighty leagues, and that there the people wore clothes.

Monday, 7th of January.

This day the Admiral took the opportunity of caulking the caravel, and the sailors were sent to cut wood. They found mastick and aloes in abundance.

Tuesday, 8th of January.

As the wind was blowing fresh from the E. and S. E., the Admiral did not get under weigh this morning. He ordered the caravel to be filled up with wood and water and with all other necessaries for the voyage. He wished to explore all the coasts of Española in this direction. But those he appointed to the caravels as captains were brothers, namely, Martin Alonso Pinzon and Vicente Anes. They also had followers who were filled with pride and avarice, considering that all now belonged to them, and unmindful of the honor the Admiral had done them. They had not and did not obey his orders, but did and said many unworthy things against him; while Martin Alonso had deserted him from the 21st of November until the 6th of January, without cause or reason, but from disaffection. All these things had been endured in silence by the Admiral in order to secure a good end to the voyage. He determined to return as quickly as possible, to get rid of such an evil company, with whom he thought it necessary to dissimulate, although they were a mutinous set, and though he also had with him many good men; for it was not a fitting time for dealing out punishment.

The Admiral got into the boat and went up the river which is near, towards the S. S. W. of Monte Cristi, a good league. This is where the sailors went to get fresh water for the ships. He found that the sand at the mouth of the river, which is very large and deep, was full of very fine gold, and in astonishing quantity. The Admiral thought that it was pulverized in the drift down the river, but in a short time he found many grains as large as horse beans, while there was a great deal of the fine powder.

As the fresh water mixed with the salt when it entered the sea, he ordered the boat to go up for the distance of a stone's throw. They filled the casks from the boat, and when they went back to the caravel they found small bits of gold sticking to the hoops of the casks and of the barrel. The Admiral gave the name of *Rio del Oro* to the river. Inside the bar it is very deep, though the mouth is shallow and very wide. The distance to the Villa de la Navidad is seventeen leagues, and there are several large rivers on the intervening coast, especially three which probably contain much more gold than this one, because they are larger. This river is nearly the size of the Guadalquivir at Cordova, and from it to the gold mines the distance is not more than twenty leagues. The Admiral further says that he did not care to take the sand containing gold, because their Highnesses would have it all as their property at their town of Navidad; and because his first object was now to bring the news and to get rid of the evil company that was with him, whom he had always said were a mutinous set.

Wednesday, 9th of January.

The Admiral made sail at midnight, with the wind S. E., and shaped an E. N. E. course, arriving at a point named *Punta Roja*, which is sixty miles E. of Monte Cristi, and anchored under its lee three hours before nightfall. He did not venture to go out at night, because there are many reefs, until they are known. Afterwards, if, as will probably be the case, channels are found between them, the

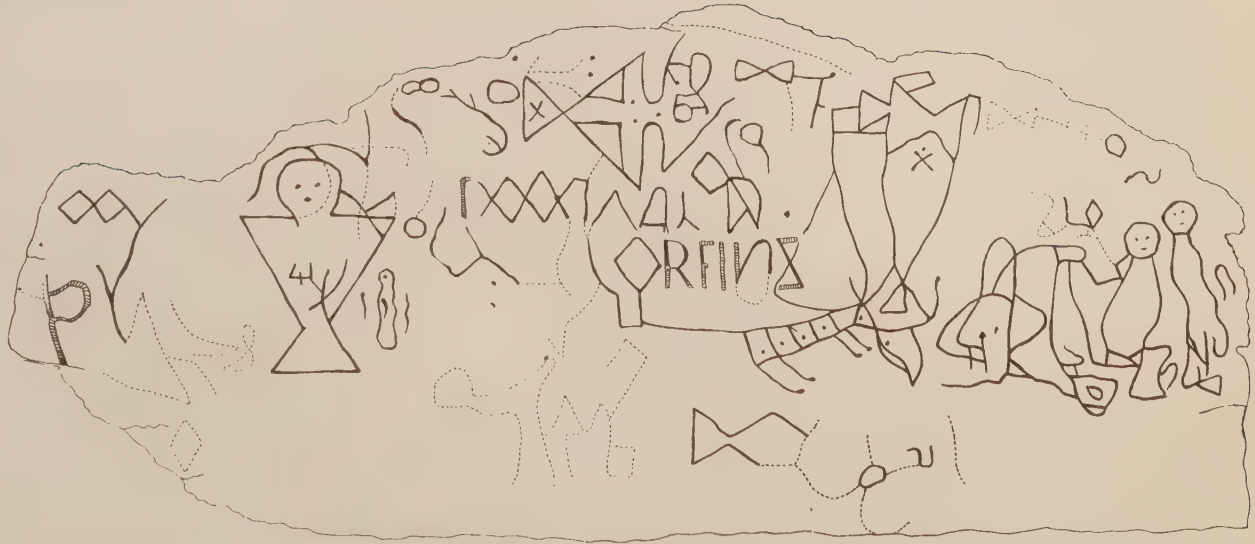
anchorage, which is good and well sheltered, will be profitable. The country between Monte Cristi and this point where the Admiral anchored is very high land, with beautiful plains, the range running E. and W., all green and cultivated, with numerous streams of water, so that it is wonderful to see such beauty. In all this country there are many turtles, and the sailors took several when they came on shore to lay their eggs at Monte Cristi, as large as a great wooden buckler.

On the previous day, when the Admiral went to the Rio del Oro, he saw three mermaids, which rose well out of the sea; but they are not so beautiful as they are painted, though to some extent they have the form of a human face. The Admiral says that he had seen some, at other times, in Guinea, on the coast of Manequeta.

The Admiral says that this night, in the name of our Lord, he would set out on his homeward voyage without any further delay whatever, for he had found what he sought, and he did not wish to have further cause of offence with Martin Alonso until their Highnesses should know the news of the voyage and what had been done. Afterwards he says: "I will not suffer the deeds of evil-disposed persons, with little worth, who, without respect for him to whom they owe their positions, presume to set up their own wills with little ceremony."

Thursday, 10th of January.

He departed from the place where he had anchored, and at sunset he reached a river, to which he gave the name of *Rio de Gracia*, three leagues to the S. E. He came to at the mouth, where there is good anchorage on the E. side. There is a bar with no more than two fathoms of water, and very narrow across the entrance. It is a good and well-sheltered port, except that there it is often misty, owing to which the caravel *Pinta*, under Martin Alonso, received a good deal of damage. He had been here bartering for sixteen days, and got much gold, which was what Martin



Inscription on the Assonet, or Dighton Rock, long believed to have been cut by the Norsemen. *After a drawing made under the superintendence of the Rhode Island Historical Society.*

Alonso wanted. As soon as he heard from the Indians that the Admiral was on the coast of the same island of Española, and that he could not avoid him, Pinzon came to him. He wanted all the people of the ship to swear that he had not been there more than six days. But his treachery was so public that it could not be concealed. He had made a law that half of all the gold that was collected was his. When he left this port he took four men and two girls by force. But the Admiral ordered that they should be clothed and put on shore to return to their homes. "This," the Admiral says, "is a service for your Highnesses. For all the men and women are subjects of your Highnesses, as well in this island as in the others. Here, where your Highnesses already have a settlement, the people ought to be treated with honor and favor, seeing that this island has so much gold and such good spice-yielding lands."

Friday, 11th of January.

At midnight the Admiral left the Rio de Gracia with the land breeze, and steered eastward until he came to a cape named *Belprado*, at a distance of four leagues. To the S. E. is the mountain to which he gave the name of *Monte de Plata*, eight leagues distant. Thence from the cape Belprado to E. S. E. is the point named *Angel*, eighteen leagues distant; and from this point to the Monte de Plata there is a gulf, with the most beautiful lands in the world, all high and fine lands which extend far inland. Beyond there is a range of high mountains running E. and W., very grand and beautiful. At the foot of this mountain there is a very good port, with fourteen fathoms in the entrance. The mountain is very high and beautiful, and all the country is well peopled. The Admiral believed there must be fine rivers and much gold. At a distance of four leagues E. S. E. of *Cabo del Angel* there is a cape named *Punta del Hierro*, and on the same course, four more leagues, a point is reached named *Punta Seca*. Thence, six leagues further on, is *Cabo Redondo*, and further on *Cabo Frances*, where a

large bay is formed, but there did not appear to be anchorage in it. A league further on is *Cabo del Buen Tiempo*, and thence, a good league S. S. E., is *Cabo Tajado*. Thence, to the S., another cape was sighted at a distance of about fifteen leagues. To-day great progress was made, as wind and tide were favorable. The Admiral did not venture to anchor for fear of the rocks, so he was hove to all night.

Saturday, 12th of January.

Towards dawn the Admiral filled and shaped a course to the E. with a fresh wind, running twenty miles before daylight, and in two hours afterwards twenty-four miles. Thence he saw land to the S., and steered towards it, distant forty-eight miles. During the night he must have run twenty-eight miles N. N. E., to keep the vessels out of danger. When he saw the land, he named one cape that he saw *Cabo de Padre y Hijo*, because at the E. point there are two rocks, one larger than the other. Afterwards, at two leagues to the eastward, he saw a very fine bay between two grand mountains. He saw that it was a very large port with a very good approach; but, as it was very early in the morning, and as the greater part of the time it was blowing from the E., and then they had a N. N. W. breeze, he did not wish to delay any more. He continued his course to the E. as far as a very high and beautiful cape, all of scarped rock, to which he gave the name of *Cabo del Enamorado*, which was thirty-two miles to the E. of the port named *Puerto Sacro*. On rounding the cape, another finer and loftier point came in sight, like Cape St. Vincent in Portugal, twelve miles E. of Cabo del Enamorado. As soon as he was abreast of the Cabo del Enamorado, the Admiral saw that there was a great bay between this and the next point, three leagues across, and in the middle of it a small island. The depth is great at the entrance close to the land. He anchored here in twelve fathoms, and sent the boat on shore for water and to see if intercourse could be opened with the natives, but they

all fled. He also anchored to ascertain whether this was all one land with the island of Española, and to make sure that this was a gulf, and not a channel, forming another island. He remained astonished at the great size of Española.

Sunday, 13th of January.

The Admiral did not leave the port, because there was no land breeze with which to go out. He wished to shift to another better port, because this was rather exposed. He also wanted to wait, in that haven, the conjunction of the sun and the moon, which would take place on the seventeenth of this month, and their opposition with Jupiter and conjunction with Mercury, the sun being in opposition to Jupiter, which is the cause of high winds. He sent the boat on shore to a beautiful beach to obtain yams for food. They found some men with bows and arrows, with whom they stopped to speak, buying two bows and many arrows from them. They asked one of them to come on board the caravel and see the Admiral; who says that he was very wanting in reverence, more so than any native he had yet seen. His face was all stained with charcoal, but in all parts there is the custom of painting the body different colors. He wore his hair very long, brought together and fastened behind, and put into a small net of parrots' feathers. He was naked, like all the others. The Admiral supposed that he belonged to the Caribs, who eat men, and that the gulf he had seen yesterday formed this part of the land into an island by itself. The Admiral asked about the Caribs, and he pointed to the E., near at hand, which means that he saw the Admiral yesterday before he entered the bay. The Indian said there was much gold to the E., pointing to the poop of the caravel, which was a good size, meaning that there were pieces as large. He called gold *tuob*, and did not understand *caona*, as they call it in the first part of the island that was visited, nor *nozay*, the name in San Salvador and the other islands. Copper is called *tuob* in Española. He also spoke of the island of *Goanin*, where there

was much *tuob*. The Admiral says that he had received notices of these islands from many persons; that in the other islands the natives were in great fear of the Caribs, called by some of them Caniba, but in Española Carib. He thought they must be an audacious race, for they go to all these islands and eat the people they can capture. He understood a few words, and the Indians who were on board comprehended more, there being a difference in the languages owing to the great distance between the various islands. The Admiral ordered that the Indian should be fed, and given pieces of green and red cloth, and glass beads, which they like very much, and then sent on shore. He was told to bring gold if he had any, and it was believed that he had, from some small things he brought with him. When the boat reached the shore there were fifty-five men behind the trees, naked, and with very long hair, as the women wear it in Castille. Behind the head they wore plumes of feathers of parrots and other birds, and each man carried a bow. The Indian landed, and signed to the others to put down their bows and arrows, and a piece of a staff, which is like . . ., very heavy, carried instead of a sword. As soon as they came to the boat the crew landed, and began to buy the bows and arrows and other arms, in accordance with an order of the Admiral. Having sold two bows, they did not want to give more, but began to attack the Spaniards, and to take hold of them. They were running back to pick up their bows and arrows where they had laid them aside, and took cords in their hands to bind the boat's crew. Seeing them rushing down, and being prepared, for the Admiral always warned them to be on their guard, the Spaniards attacked the Indians, and gave one a stab with a knife in the buttocks, wounding another in the breast with an arrow. Seeing that they could gain little, although the Christians were only seven and they numbered over fifty, they fled, so that none were left, throwing bows and arrows away. The Christians would have killed many, if the pilot, who was in command, had not prevented them.

The Spaniards presently returned to the caravel with the boat. The Admiral regretted the affair for one reason, and was pleased for another. They would have fear of the Christians, and they were no doubt an ill-conditioned people, probably Caribs, who eat men. But the Admiral felt alarm lest they should do some harm to the thirty-nine men left in the fortress and town of Navidad, in the event of their coming here in their boat. Even if they are not Caribs, they are a neighboring people, with similar habits, and fearless, unlike the other inhabitants of the island, who are timid, and without arms. The Admiral says all this, and adds that he would have liked to capture some of them. He says that they lighted many smoke signals, as is the custom in this island of Española.

Monday, 14th of January.

This evening the Admiral wished to find the houses of the Indians and to capture some of them, believing them to be Caribs. For, owing to the strong E. and N. E. winds and the heavy sea, he had remained during the day. Many Indians were seen on shore. The Admiral, therefore, ordered the boat to be sent on shore, with the crew well armed. Presently the Indians came to the stern of the boat, including the man who had been on board the day before, and had received presents from the Admiral. With him there came a king, who had given to the said Indian some beads in token of safety and peace for the boat's crew. This king, with three of his followers, went on board the boat and came to the caravel. The Admiral ordered them to be given biscuit and treacle to eat, and gave the chief a red cap, some beads, and a piece of red cloth. The others were also given pieces of cloth. The chief said that next day he would bring a mask made of gold, affirming that there was much here, and in Carib and *Matinino*. They afterwards went on shore well satisfied.

The Admiral here says that the caravels were making much water, which entered by the keel; and he complains

of the caulkers at Palos, who had caulked the vessels very badly, and ran away when they saw that the Admiral had detected the badness of their work and intended to oblige them to repair the defect. But, notwithstanding that the caravels were making much water, he trusted in the favor and mercy of our Lord, for his high Majesty well knew how much controversy there was before the expedition could be despatched from Castille, that no one was in the Admiral's favor save Him alone who knew his heart, and after God came your Highnesses, while all others were against him without any reason. He further says: "And this has been the cause that the royal crown of your Highnesses has not a hundred *cuentos* of revenue more than after I entered your service, which is seven years ago in this very month, the 20th of January. The increase will take place from now onwards. For the almighty God will remedy all things." These are his words.

Tuesday, 15th of January.

The Admiral now wished to depart, for there was nothing to be gained by further delay, after these occurrences and the tumult with the Indians. To-day he had heard that all the gold was in the district of the town of Navidad, belonging to their Highnesses; and that in the island of Carib there was much copper, as well as in Matinino. The intercourse at Carib would, however, be difficult, because the natives are said to eat human flesh. Their island would be in sight from thence, and the Admiral determined to go there, as it was on the route, and thence to Matinino, which was said to be entirely peopled by women, without men. He would thus see both islands, and might take some of the natives. The Admiral sent the boat on shore, but the king of that district had not come, for his village was distant. He, however, sent his crown of gold, as he had promised; and many other natives came with cotton, and bread made from yams, all with their bows and arrows. After the bartering was finished, four youths came to the

caravel. They appeared to the Admiral to give such a clear account of the islands to the eastward, on the same route as the Admiral would have to take, that he determined to take them to Castille with him. He says that they had no iron or other metals; at least none was seen, but it was impossible to know much of the land in so short a time, owing to the difficulty with the language, which the Admiral could not understand except by guessing, nor could they know what was said to them, in such a few days. The bows of these people are as large as those of France or England. The arrows are similar to the darts of the natives who have been met with previously, which are made of young canes, which grow very straight, and a *vara* and a half or two *varas* in length. They point them with a piece of sharp wood, a *palmo* and a half long, and at the end some of them fix a fish's tooth, but most of them anoint it with an herb. They do not shoot as in other parts, but in a certain way which cannot do much harm. Here they have a great deal of fine and long cotton, and plenty of mastick. The bows appeared to be of yew, and there is gold and copper. There is also plenty of *aji*, which is their pepper, which is more valuable than pepper, and all the people eat nothing else, it being very wholesome. Fifty caravels might be annually loaded with it from Española. The Admiral says that he found a great deal of weed in this bay, the same as was met with at sea when he came on this discovery. He therefore supposed that there were islands to the eastward, in the direction of the position where he began to meet with it; for he considers it certain that this weed has its origin in shallow water near the land, and, if this is the case, these Indies must be very near the Canary Islands. For this reason he thought the distance must be less than four hundred leagues.

Wednesday, 16th of January.

They got under weigh three hours before daylight, and left the gulf, which was named *Golfo de las Flechas*, with

the land breeze. Afterwards there was a W. wind, which was fair to go to the island of Carib on an E. N. E. course. This was where the people live of whom all the natives of the other islands are so frightened, because they roam over the sea in canoes without number, and eat the men they can capture. The Admiral steered the course indicated by one of the four Indians he took yesterday in the *Puerto de las Flechas*. After having sailed about sixty-four miles, the Indians made signs that the island was to the S. E. The Admiral ordered the sails to be trimmed for that course, but, after having proceeded on it for two leagues, the wind freshened from a quarter which was very favorable for the voyage to Spain. The Admiral had noticed that the crew were downhearted when he deviated from the direct route home, reflecting that both caravels were leaking badly, and that there was no help but in God. He therefore gave up the course leading to the islands, and shaped a direct course for Spain E. N. E. He sailed on this course, making forty-eight miles, which is twelve leagues, by sunset. The Indians said that by that route they would fall in with the island of Matinino, peopled entirely by women without men, and the Admiral wanted very much to take five or six of them to the Sovereigns. But he doubted whether the Indians understood the route well, and he could not afford to delay, by reason of the leaky condition of the caravels. He, however, believed the story, and that, at certain seasons, men came to them from the island of Carib, distant ten or twelve leagues. If males were born, they were sent to the island of the men, and if females, they remained with their mothers. The Admiral says that these two islands cannot have been more than fifteen or twenty leagues to the S. E. from where he altered course, the Indians not understanding how to point out the direction. After losing sight of the cape, which was named *San Theramo*, which was left sixteen leagues to the W., they went for twelve leagues E. N. E. The weather was very fine.

Thursday, 17th of January.

The wind went down at sunset yesterday, the caravels having sailed fourteen glasses, each a little less than half an hour, at four miles an hour, making twenty-eight miles. Afterwards the wind freshened, and they ran all that watch, which was ten glasses. Then another six until sunrise at eight miles an hour, thus making altogether eighty-four miles, equal to twenty-one leagues, to the E. N. E., and until sunset forty-four miles, or eleven leagues, to the E. Here a booby came to the caravel, and afterwards another. The Admiral saw a great deal of gulf weed.

Friday, 18th of January.

During the night they steered E. S. E., with little wind, for forty miles, equal to ten leagues, and then thirty miles, or seven and one-half leagues, until sunrise. All day they proceeded with little wind to E. N. E. and N. E. by E., more or less, her head being sometimes N. and at others N. N. E., and, counting one with the other, they made sixty miles, or fifteen leagues. There was little weed, but yesterday and to-day the sea appeared to be full of tunnies. The Admiral believed that they were on their way to the tunny fisheries of the Duke, at Conil and Cadiz. He also thought they were near some islands, because a frigate-bird flew round the caravel, and afterwards went away to the S. S. E. He said that to the S. E. of the island of Española were the islands of Carib, Matinino,* and many others.

Saturday, 19th of January.

During the night they made good fifty-six miles N. N. E., and sixty-four N. E. by N. After sunrise they steered N. E. with the wind fresh from S. W., and afterwards W. S. W. eighty-four miles, equal to twenty-one leagues. The sea was again full of small tunnies. There were boobies, frigate-birds, and terns.

Sunday, 20th of January.

It was calm during the night, with occasional slants of wind, and they only made twenty miles to the N. E. After sunrise they went eleven miles S. E., and then thirty-six miles N. N. E., equal to nine leagues. They saw an immense quantity of small tunnies, the air very soft and pleasant, like Seville in April or May, and the sea, for which God be given many thanks, always very smooth. Frigate-birds, sandpipers, and other birds were seen.

Monday, 21st of January.

Yesterday, before sunset, they steered N. E. by E., with the wind east, at the rate of eight miles an hour until midnight, equal to fifty-six miles. Afterwards they steered N. N. E. eight miles an hour, so that they made one hundred and four miles, or twenty-six leagues, during the night N. E. by N. After sunrise they steered N. N. E. with the same wind, which at times veered to N. E., and they made good eighty-eight miles in the eleven hours of daylight, or twenty-two leagues: except one that was lost by delay caused by closing with the *Pinta* to communicate. The air was colder, and it seemed to get colder as they went further N., and also that the nights grew longer owing to the narrowing of the sphere. Many boatswain-birds and terns were seen, as well as other birds, but not so many fish, perhaps owing to the water being colder. Much weed was seen.

Tuesday, 22nd of January.

Yesterday, after sunset, they steered N. N. E. with an E. wind. They made eight miles an hour during five glasses, and three before the watch began, making eight glasses, equal to thirty-two miles, or eight leagues. Afterwards they went N. E. by N. for six glasses, which would be another eighteen miles. Then, during four glasses of the second watch N. E. at six miles an hour, or three leagues. From that time to sunset, for eleven glasses, E. N. E. at six miles an hour, equal to seven leagues. Then E. N. E.

until eleven o'clock, thirty-two miles. Then the wind fell, and they made no more during that day. The Indians swam about. They saw boatswain-birds and much weed.

Wednesday, 23rd of January.

To-night the wind was very changeable, but, making the allowances applied by good sailors, they made eighty-four miles, or twenty-one leagues, N. E. by N. Many times the caravel *Niña* had to wait for the *Pinta*, because she sailed badly when on a bowline, the mizzen being of little use owing to the weakness of the mast. If her captain, Martin Alonso Pinzon, had taken the precaution to provide her with a good mast in the Indies, where there are so many and such excellent spars, instead of deserting his commander from motives of avarice, he would have done better. They saw many boatswain-birds and much weed. The heavens have been clouded over during these last days, but there has been no rain. The sea has been as smooth as a river, for which many thanks be given to God. After sunrise they went free, and made thirty miles, or seven and one-half leagues N. E. During the rest of the day E. N. E. another thirty miles.

Thursday, 24th of January.

They made forty-four miles, or eleven leagues, during the night, allowing for many changes in the wind, which was generally N. E. After sunrise until sunset E. N. E. fourteen leagues.

Friday, 25th of January.

They steered during part of the night E. N. E. for thirteen glasses, making nine and one-half leagues. Then N. N. E. six miles. The wind fell, and during the day they only made twenty-eight miles E. N. E., or seven leagues. The sailors killed a tunny and a very large shark, which was very welcome, as they now had nothing but bread and wine, and some yams from the Indies.

Saturday, 26th of January.

This night they made fifty-six miles, or fourteen leagues, E. S. E. After sunrise, they steered E. S. E., and sometimes S. E., making forty miles up to eleven o'clock. Afterwards they went on another tack, and then on a bowline, twenty-four miles, or six leagues, to the N., until night.

Sunday, 27th of January.

Yesterday, after sunset, they steered N. E. and N. E. by N. at the rate of five miles an hour, which in thirteen hours would be sixty-five miles, or sixteen and one-half leagues. After sunrise they steered N. E. twenty-four miles, or six leagues, until noon, and from that time until sunset three leagues E. N. E.

Monday, 28th of January.

All night they steered E. N. E. thirty-six miles, or nine leagues. After sunrise until sunset E. N. E. twenty miles, or five leagues. The weather was temperate and pleasant. They saw boatswain-birds, sandpipers, and much weed.

Tuesday, 29th of January.

They steered E. N. E. thirty-nine miles, or nine and one-half leagues, and during the whole day eight leagues. The air was very pleasant, like April in Castille, the sea smooth, and fish they call dorados came on board.

Wednesday, 30th of January.

All this night they made six leagues E. N. E., and in the day S. E. by S. thirteen and one-half leagues. Boatswain-birds, much weed, and many tunnies.

Thursday, 31st of January.

This night they steered N. E. by N. thirty miles, and afterwards N. E. thirty-five miles, or sixteen leagues. From sunrise to night E. N. E. thirteen and one-half leagues. They saw boatswain-birds and terns.

Friday, 1st of February.

They made sixteen and one-half leagues E. N. E. during the night, and went on the same course during the day twenty-nine and one-quarter leagues. The sea very smooth, thanks be to God.

Saturday, 2nd of February.

They made forty miles, or ten leagues, E. N. E. this night. In the daytime, with the same wind aft, they went seven miles an hour, so that in eleven hours they had gone seventy-seven miles, or nineteen and one-quarter leagues. The sea was very smooth, thanks be to God, and the air very soft. They saw the sea so covered with weed that, if they had not known about it before, they would have been fearful of sunken rocks. They saw terns.

Sunday, 3rd of February.

This night, the wind being aft and the sea very smooth, thanks be to God, they made twenty-nine leagues. The North Star appeared very high, as it does off Cape St. Vincent. The Admiral was unable to take the altitude, either with the astrolabe or with the quadrant, because the rolling caused by the waves prevented it. That day he steered his course E. N. E., going ten miles an hour, so that in eleven hours he made twenty-seven leagues.

Monday, 4th of February.

During the night the course was N. E. by E., going twelve miles an hour part of the time, and the rest ten miles. Thus they made one hundred and thirty miles, or thirty-two leagues and a half. The sky was very threatening and rainy, and it was rather cold, by which they knew that they had not yet reached the Azores. After sunrise the course was altered to E. During the whole day they made seventy-seven miles, or nineteen and one-quarter leagues.

Tuesday, 5th of February.

This night they steered E., and made fifty-five miles, or thirteen and one-half leagues. In the day they were going ten

miles an hour, and in eleven hours made one hundred and ten miles, or twenty-seven and one-half leagues. They saw sand-pipers, and some small sticks, a sign that they were near land.

Wednesday, 6th of February.

They steered E. during the night, going at the rate of eleven miles an hour, so that in the thirteen hours of the night they made one hundred and forty-three miles, or thirty-five and one-quarter leagues. They saw many birds. In the day they went fourteen miles an hour, and made one hundred and fifty-four miles, or thirty-eight and one-half leagues; so that, including night and day, they made seventy-four leagues, more or less. Vicente Anes said that they had left the island of Flores to the N. and Madeira to the E. Roldan said that the island of Fayal, or San Gregorio, was to the N. N. E. and Puerto Santo to the E. There was much weed.

Thursday, 7th of February.

This night they steered E., going ten miles an hour, so that in thirteen hours they made one hundred and thirty miles, or thirty-two and one-half leagues. In the daytime the rate was eight miles an hour, in eleven hours eighty-eight miles, or twenty-two leagues. This morning the Admiral found himself sixty-five leagues S. of the island of Flores, and the pilot Pedro Alonso, being further N., according to his reckoning, passed between Terceira and Santa Maria to the E., passing to windward of the island of Madeira, twelve leagues further N. The sailors saw a new kind of weed, of which there is plenty in the islands of the Azores.

Friday, 8th of February.

They went three miles an hour to the eastward for some time during the night, and afterwards E. S. E., going twelve miles an hour. From sunrise to noon they made twenty-seven miles, and the same distance from noon till sunset, equal to thirteen leagues S. S. E.

Saturday, 9th of February.

For part of this night they went three leagues S. S. E., and afterwards S. by E., then N. E. five leagues until ten o'clock in the forenoon, then nine leagues E. until dark.

Sunday, 10th of February.

From sunset they steered E. all night, making one hundred and thirty miles, or thirty-two and one-half leagues. During the day they went at the rate of nine miles an hour, making ninety-nine miles, or twenty-four and one-half leagues, in eleven hours.

In the caravel of the Admiral, Vicente Yañez and the two pilots, Sancho Ruiz and Pedro Alonso Niño, and Roldan, made charts and plotted the route. They all made the position a good deal beyond the islands of the Azores to the E., and, navigating to the N., none of them touched Santa Maria, which is the last of all the Azores. They made the position five leagues beyond it, and were in the vicinity of the islands of Madeira and Puerto Santo. But the Admiral was very different from them in his reckoning, finding the position very much in rear of theirs. This night he found the island of Flores to the N., and to the E. he made the direction to be toward Nafe in Africa, passing to leeward of the island of Madeira to the N. . . . leagues. So that the pilots were nearer to Castille than the Admiral by one hundred and fifty leagues. The Admiral says that, with the grace of God, when they reach the land they will find out whose reckoning was most correct. He also says that he went two hundred and sixty-three leagues from the island of Hierro to the place where he first saw the gulf weed.

Monday, 11th of February.

This night they went twelve miles an hour on their course, and during the day they ran sixteen and one-half leagues. They saw many birds, from which they judged that land was near.

Tuesday, 12th of February.

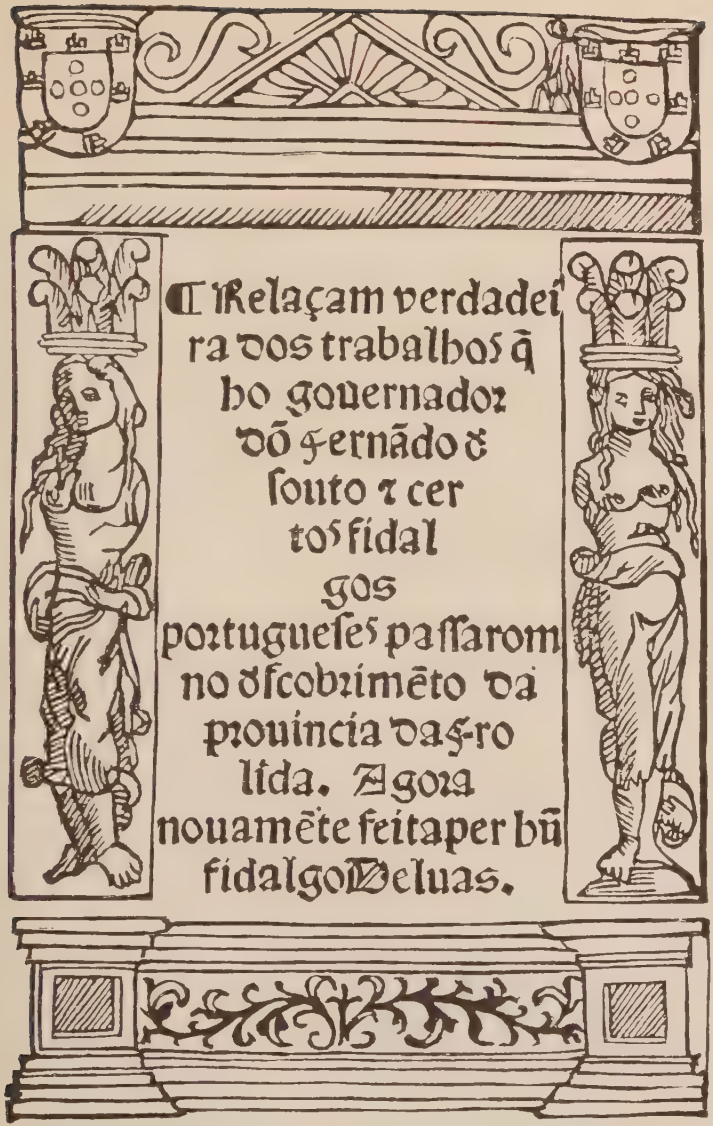
They went six miles an hour on an E. course during the night, altogether seventy-three miles, or eighteen and one-quarter leagues. At this time they began to encounter bad weather with a heavy sea; and, if the caravel had not been very well managed, she must have been lost. During the day they made eleven or twelve leagues with much difficulty and danger.

Wednesday, 13th of February.

From sunset until daylight there was great trouble with the wind, and the high and tempestuous sea. There was lightning three times to the N. N. E.—a sign of a great storm coming either from that quarter or its opposite. They were lying to most of the night, afterwards showing a little sail, and made fifty-two miles, which is thirteen leagues. In the day the wind moderated a little, but it soon increased again. The sea was terrific, the waves crossing each other, and straining the vessels. They made fifty-five miles more, equal to thirteen and one-half leagues.

Thursday, 14th of February.

This night the wind increased, and the waves were terrible, rising against each other, and so shaking and straining the vessel that she could make no headway, and was in danger of being stove in. They carried the mainsail very closely reefed, so as just to give her steerageway, and proceeded thus for three hours, making twenty miles. Meanwhile, the wind and sea increased, and, seeing the great danger, the Admiral began to run before it, there being nothing else to be done. The caravel *Pinta* began to run before the wind at the same time, and Martin Alonso ran her out of sight, although the Admiral kept showing lanterns all night, and the other answered. It would seem that she could do no more, owing to the force of the tempest, and she was taken far from the route of the Admiral. He steered that night E. N. E., and made fifty-four miles,


¶ Relaçam verdadeira dos trabalhos q̃ ho gouernador dõ fernãdo de souto e certos fidalgos portugueses passarom no descobrimẽto da prouincia da frolida. Agora nouamẽte feita per bũ fidalgo Delua s.
¶ Foy vista por ho señor inquisidor.

Title-page of the *Relaçam Verdadeira*, printed at Evora in Portugal, 1557, giving the first account of De Soto's discovery and exploration of Florida. *From the excessively rare original in the New York Public Library, Lenox Branch.*

equal to thirteen leagues. At sunrise the wind blew still harder, and the cross sea was terrific. They continued to show the closely reefed mainsail, to enable her to rise from between the waves, or she would otherwise have been swamped. An E. N. E. course was steered, and afterwards N. E. by E. for six hours, making seven and one-half leagues. The Admiral ordered that a pilgrimage should be made to Our Lady of Guadaloupe, carrying a candle of six pounds of weight in wax, and that all the crew should take an oath that the pilgrimage should be made by the man on whom the lot fell. As many beans were got as there were persons on board, and on one a cross was cut with a knife. They were then put into a cap and shaken up. The first who put in his hand was the Admiral, and he drew out the bean with a cross, so the lot fell on him; and he was bound to go on the pilgrimage and fulfil the vow. Another lot was drawn, to go on a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Loreto, which is in the march of Ancona, in the Papal territory, a house where Our Lady works many and great miracles. The lot fell on a sailor of the port of Santa Maria, named Pedro de Villa, and the Admiral promised to pay his travelling expenses. Another pilgrimage was agreed upon, to watch for one night in Santa Clara at Moguer, and have a Mass said, for which they again used the beans, including the one with a cross. The lot again fell on the Admiral. After this the Admiral and all the crew made a vow that, on arriving at the first land, they would all go in procession, in their shirts, to say their prayers in a church dedicated to Our Lady.

Besides these general vows made in common, each sailor made a special vow; for no one expected to escape, holding themselves for lost, owing to the fearful weather from which they were suffering. The want of ballast increased the danger of the ship, which had become light, owing to the consumption of the provisions and water. On account of the favorable weather enjoyed among the islands, the Admiral had omitted to make provision for this need,

thinking that ballast might be taken on board at the island inhabited by women, which he had intended to visit. The only thing to do was to fill the barrels that had contained wine or fresh water with water from the sea, and this supplied a remedy.

Here the Admiral writes of the causes which made him fear that he would perish, and of others that gave him hope that God would work his salvation, in order that such news as he was bringing to the Sovereigns might not be lost. It seemed to him that the strong desire he felt to bring such great news, and to show that all he had said and offered to discover had turned out true, suggested the fear that he would not be able to do so, and that each stinging insect would be able to thwart and impede the work. He attributes this fear to his little faith, and to his want of confidence in Divine Providence. He was comforted, on the other hand, by the mercies of God in having vouchsafed him such a victory, in the discoveries he had made, and in that God had complied with all his desires in Castille, after much adversity and many misfortunes. As he had before put all his trust in God, who had heard him and granted all he sought, he ought now to believe that God would permit the completion of what had been begun, and ordain that he should be saved. Especially as He had freed him on the voyage out, when he had still greater reason to fear, from the trouble caused by the sailors and people of his company, who all with one voice declared their intention to return, and protested that they would rise against him. But the eternal God gave him force and valor to withstand them all, and in many other marvellous ways had God shown his will in this voyage besides those known to their Highnesses. Thus he ought not to fear the present tempest, though his weakness and anxiety prevent him from giving tranquillity to his mind. He says further that it gave him great sorrow to think of the two sons he had left at their studies in Cordova, who would be left orphans, without father or mother, in a strange land; while the Sovereigns would not

know of the services he had performed in this voyage, nor would they receive the prosperous news which would move them to help the orphans. To remedy this, and that their Highnesses might know how our Lord had granted a victory in all that could be desired respecting the Indies, and that they might understand that there were no storms in those parts, which may be known by the herbs and trees which grow even within the sea; also that the Sovereigns might still have information, even if he perished in the storm, he took a parchment and wrote on it as good an account as he could of all he had discovered, entreating anyone who might pick it up to deliver it to the Sovereigns. He rolled this parchment up in waxed cloth, fastened it securely, ordered a large wooden barrel to be brought, and put it inside, so that no one else knew what it was. They thought that it was some act of devotion, and so he ordered the barrel to be thrown into the sea. Afterwards, in the showers and squalls, the wind veered to the W., and they went before it, only with the foresail, in a very confused sea, for five hours. They made two and one-half leagues N. E. They had taken in the reefed mainsail, for fear some wave of the sea should carry all away.

Friday, 15th of February.

Last night, after sunset, the sky began to clear towards the W., showing that the wind was inclined to come from that quarter. The Admiral added the bonnet to the mainsail. The sea was still very high, although it had gone down slightly. They steered E. N. E., and went four miles an hour, which made eleven leagues during the eleven hours of the night. After sunrise they sighted land. It appeared from the bows to bear E. N. E. Some said it was the island of Madeira, others that it was the rock of Cintra, in Portugal, near Lisbon. Presently the wind headed to E. N. E., and a heavy sea came from the W., the caravel being five leagues from the land. The Admiral found by his reckoning that he was close to the Azores, and believed

that this was one of them. The pilots and sailors thought it was the land of Castille.

Saturday, 16th of February.

All that night the Admiral was standing off and on to keep clear of the land, which they now knew to be an island, sometimes standing N. E., at others N. N. E., until sunrise, when they tacked to the S. to reach the island, which was now concealed by a great mist. Another island was in sight from the poop, at a distance of eight leagues. Afterwards, from sunrise until dark, they were tacking to reach the land against a strong wind and head sea. At the time of repeating the *Salve*, which is just before dark, some of the men saw a light to leeward, and it seemed that it must be on the island they first saw yesterday. All night they were beating to windward, and going as near as they could, so as to see some way to the island at sunrise. That night the Admiral got a little rest, for he had not slept nor been able to sleep since Wednesday, and his legs were very sore from long exposure to the wet and cold. At sunrise he steered S. S. W., and reached the island at night, but could not make out what island it was, owing to the thick weather.

Monday, 18th of February.

Yesterday, after sunset, the Admiral was sailing round the island, to see where he could anchor and open communications. He let go one anchor, which he presently lost, and then stood off and on all night. After sunrise he again reached the N. side of the island, where he anchored, and sent the boat on shore. They had speech with the people, and found that it was the island of Santa Maria, one of the Azores. They pointed out the port to which the caravel should go. They said that they had never seen such stormy weather as there had been for the last fifteen days, and they wondered how the caravel could have escaped. They gave many thanks to God, and showed

great joy at the news that the Admiral had discovered the Indies. The Admiral says that his navigation had been very certain, and that he had laid the discoveries down on the chart. Many thanks were due to our Lord, although there had been some delay. But he was sure that he was in the region of the Azores, and that this was one of them. He pretended to have gone over more ground, to mislead the pilots and mariners who pricked off the charts, in order that he might remain master of that route to the Indies, as, in fact, he did. For none of the others kept an accurate reckoning, so that no one but himself could be sure of the route to the Indies.

Tuesday, 19th of February.

After sunset three natives of the island came to the beach and hailed. The Admiral sent the boat, which returned with fowls and fresh bread. It was carnival time, and they brought other things which were sent by the captain of the island, named Juan de Castañeda, saying that he knew the Admiral very well, and that he did not come to see him because it was night, but that at dawn he would come with more refreshments, bringing with him three men of the boat's crew, whom he did not send back owing to the great pleasure he derived from hearing their account of the voyage. The Admiral ordered much respect to be shown to the messengers, and that they should be given beds to sleep in that night, because it was late, and the town was far off. As on the previous Thursday, when they were in the midst of the storm, they had made a vow to go in procession to a church of Our Lady as soon as they came to land, the Admiral arranged that half the crew should go to comply with their obligation to a small chapel, like a hermitage, near the shore; and that he would himself go afterwards with the rest. Believing that it was a peaceful land, and confiding in the offers of the captain of the island, and in the peace that existed between Spain and Portugal, he asked the three men to go to the town and arrange for a priest to

come and say Mass. The half of the crew then went in their shirts, in compliance with their vow. While they were at their prayers, all the people of the town, horse and foot, with the captain at their head, came and took them all prisoners. The Admiral, suspecting nothing, was waiting for the boat to take him and the rest to accomplish the vow. At eleven o'clock, seeing that they did not come back, he feared that they had been detained, or that the boat had been swamped, all the island being surrounded by high rocks. He could not see what had taken place, because the hermitage was round a point. He got up the anchor, and made sail until he was in full view of the hermitage, and he saw many of the horsemen dismount and get into the boat with arms. They came to the caravel to seize the Admiral. The captain stood up in the boat, and asked for an assurance of safety from the Admiral, who replied that he granted it; but, what outrage was this, that he saw none of his people in the boat? The Admiral added that they might come on board, and that he would do all that might be proper. The Admiral tried, with fair words, to get hold of this captain, that he might recover his own people, not considering that he broke faith by giving him security, because he had offered peace and security, and had then broken his word. The captain, as he came with an evil intention, would not come on board. Seeing that he did not come alongside, the Admiral asked that he might be told the reason for the detention of his men, an act which would displease the King of Portugal, because the Portuguese received much honor in the territories of the King of Castille, and were as safe as if they were in Lisbon. He further said that the Sovereigns had given him letters of recommendation to all the Lords and Princes of the world, which he would show the captain if he would come on board; that he was the Admiral of the Ocean Sea, and Viceroy of the Indies, which belonged to their Highnesses, and that he would show the commissions signed with their signatures, and attested by their seals, which he held up

from a distance. He added that his Sovereigns were in friendship and amity with the King of Portugal, and had ordered that all honor should be shown to ships that came from Portugal. Further, that if the captain did not surrender his people, he would still go on to Castille, as he had quite sufficient to navigate as far as Seville, in which case the captain and his followers would be severely punished for their offence. Then the captain and those with him replied that they did not know the King and Queen of Castille there, nor their letters, nor were they afraid of them, and they would give the Admiral to understand that this was Portugal, almost menacing him. On hearing this the Admiral was much moved, thinking that some cause of disagreement might have arisen between the two kingdoms during his absence, yet he could not endure that they should not be answered reasonably. Afterwards he turned to the captain, and said that he should go to the port with the caravel, and that all that had been done would be reported to the King his Lord. The Admiral made those who were in the caravel bear witness to what he said, calling to the captain and all the others, and promising that he would not leave the caravel until a hundred Portuguese had been taken to Castille, and all that island had been laid waste. He then returned to anchor in the port where he was first, the wind being very unfavorable for doing anything else.

Wednesday, 20th of February.

The Admiral ordered the ship to be repaired, and the casks to be filled alongside for ballast. This was a very bad port, and he feared he might have to cut the cables. This was so, and he made sail for the island of San Miguel; but there is no good port in any of the Azores for the weather they then experienced, and there was no other remedy but to go to sea.

Thursday, 21st of February.

Yesterday the Admiral left that island of Santa Maria for that of San Miguel, to see if a port could be found to shelter

his vessel from the bad weather. There was much wind and a high sea, and he was sailing until night without being able to see either one land or the other, owing to the thick weather caused by wind and sea. The Admiral says he was in much anxiety, because he only had three sailors who knew their business, the rest knowing nothing of seamanship. He was lying to all that night, in great danger and trouble. Our Lord showed him mercy in that the waves came in one direction, for if there had been a cross sea they would have suffered much more. After sunrise the island of San Miguel was not in sight, so the Admiral determined to return to Santa Maria, to see if he could recover his people and boat, and the anchors and cables he had left there.

The Admiral says that he was astonished at the bad weather he encountered in the region of these islands. In the Indies he had navigated throughout the winter without the necessity for anchoring, and always had fine weather, never having seen the sea for a single hour in such a state that it could not be navigated easily. But among these islands he had suffered from such terrible storms. The same had happened in going out as far as the Canary Islands, but as soon as they were passed there was always fine weather, both in sea and air. In concluding these remarks, he observes that the sacred theologians and wise men said well when they placed the terrestrial paradise in the Far East, because it was a most temperate region. Hence these lands that he had now discovered must, he says, be in the extreme East.

Friday, 22nd of February.

Yesterday the Admiral came to off Santa Maria, in the place or port where he had first anchored. Presently a man came down to some rocks at the edge of the beach, hailing that they were not to remain there. Soon afterwards the boat came with five sailors, two priests, and a scrivener. They asked for safety, and when it was granted

by the Admiral, they came on board, and, as it was night they slept on board, the Admiral showing them all the civility he could. In the morning they asked to be shown the authority of the Sovereigns of Castille, by which the voyage had been made. The Admiral felt that they did this to give some color of right to what they had done, and to show that they had right on their side. As they were unable to secure the person of the Admiral, whom they intended to get into their power when they came with the boat armed, they now feared that their game might not turn out so well, thinking, with some fear, of what the Admiral had threatened, and which he proposed to put into execution. In order to get his people released, the Admiral displayed the general letter of the Sovereigns to all Princes and Lords, and other documents, and having given them of what he had, the Portuguese went on shore contented, and presently released all the crew and the boat. The Admiral heard from them that if he had been captured also, they never would have been released, for the captain said that those were the orders of the King his Lord.

Saturday, 23rd of February.

Yesterday the weather began to improve, and the Admiral got under weigh to seek a better anchorage, where he could take in wood and stones for ballast; but he did not find one until late.

Sunday, 24th of February.

He anchored yesterday in the afternoon, to take in wood and stones, but the sea was so rough that they could not land from the boat, and during the first watch it came on to blow from the W. and S. W. He ordered sail to be made, owing to the great danger there is off these islands in being at anchor with a southerly gale, and as the wind was S. W. it would go round to S. As it was a good wind for Castille, he gave up his intention of taking in wood and stones, and shaped an easterly course until sunset, going

seven miles an hour for six hours and a half, equal to forty-five and one-half miles. After sunset he made six miles an hour, or sixty-six miles in eleven hours, altogether one hundred and eleven miles, equal to twenty-eight leagues.

Monday, 25th of February.

Yesterday, after sunset, the caravel went at the rate of five miles an hour on an easterly course, and in the eleven hours of the night she made sixty-five miles, equal to sixteen and one-quarter leagues. From sunrise to sunset they made another sixteen and one-half leagues with a smooth sea, thanks be to God. A very large bird, like an eagle, came to the caravel.

Tuesday, 26th of February.

Yesterday night the caravel steered her course in a smooth sea, thanks be to God. Most of the time she was going eight miles an hour, and made a hundred miles, equal to twenty-five leagues. After sunrise there was a little wind and some rain showers. They made about eight leagues E. N. E.

Wednesday, 27th of February.

During the night and day she was off her course, owing to contrary winds and a heavy sea. She was found to be one hundred and twenty-five leagues from Cape St. Vincent, and eighty from the island of Madeira, one hundred and six from Santa Maria. It was very troublesome to have such bad weather just when they were at the very door of their home.

Thursday, 28th of February.

The same weather during the night, with the wind from S. and S. E., sometimes shifting to N. E. and E. N. E., and it was the same all day.

Friday, 1st of March.

To-night the course was E. N. E., and they made twelve leagues. During the day, twenty-three and one-half leagues on the same course.

Saturday, 2nd of March.

The course was E. N. E., and distance made good twenty-eight leagues during the night, and twenty in the day.

Sunday, 3rd of March.

After sunset the course was E.; but a squall came down, split all the sails, and the vessel was in great danger; but God was pleased to deliver them. They drew lots for sending a pilgrim in a shirt to Santa Maria de la Cinta at Huelva, and the lot fell on the Admiral. The whole crew also made a vow to fast on bread and water during the first Saturday after their arrival in port. They had made sixty miles before the sails were split. Afterwards they ran under bare poles, owing to the force of the gale and the heavy sea. They saw signs of the neighborhood of land, finding themselves near Lisbon.

Monday, 4th of March.

During the night they were exposed to a terrible storm, expecting to be overwhelmed by the cross seas, while the wind seemed to raise the caravel into the air, and there was rain and lightning in several directions. The Admiral prayed to our Lord to preserve them, and in the first watch it pleased our Lord to show land, which was reported by the sailors. As it was advisable not to reach it before it was known whether there was any port to which he could run for shelter, the Admiral set the mainsail, as there was no other course but to proceed, though in great danger. Thus God preserved them until daylight, though all the time they were in infinite fear and trouble. When it was light, the Admiral knew the land, which was the rock of Cintra, near the river of Lisbon, and he resolved to run in because there was nothing else to be done. So terrible was the storm, that in the village of Cascaes, at the mouth of the river, the people were praying for the little vessel all that morning. After they were inside, the people came off, looking upon their escape as a miracle. At the third hour

they passed Rastelo, within the river of Lisbon, where they were told that such a winter, with so many storms, had never before been known, and that twenty-five ships had been lost in Flanders, while others had been wind-bound in the river for four months. Presently the Admiral wrote to the King of Portugal, who was then at a distance of nine leagues, to state that the Sovereigns of Castille had ordered him to enter the ports of his Highness, and ask what he required for payment, and requesting that the King would give permission for the caravel to come to Lisbon, because some ruffians, hearing that he had much gold on board, might attempt a robbery in an unfrequented port, knowing that they did not come from Guinea, but from the Indies.

Tuesday, 5th of March.

To-day the great ship of the King of Portugal was also at anchor off Rastelo, with the best provision of artillery and arms that the Admiral had ever seen. The master of her, named Bartolome Diaz, of Lisbon, came in an armed boat to the caravel, and ordered the Admiral to get into the boat, to go and give an account of himself to the agents of the king and to the captain of that ship. The Admiral replied that he was the Admiral of the Sovereigns of Castille, and that he would not give an account to any such persons, nor would he leave the ship except by force, as he had not the power to resist. The master replied that he must then send the master of the caravel. The Admiral answered that neither the master nor any other person should go except by force, for if he allowed anyone to go, it would be as if he went himself; and that such was the custom of the Admirals of the Sovereigns of Castille, rather to die than to submit, or to let any of their people submit. The master then moderated his tone, and told the Admiral that if that was his determination he might do as he pleased. He, however, requested that he might be shown the letters of the King of Castille, if they were on board. The Admiral readily showed them, and the master returned to the ship and

reported what had happened to the captain, named Alvaro Dama. That officer, making great festival with trumpets and drums, came to the caravel to visit the Admiral, and offered to do all that he might require.

Wednesday, 6th of March.

As soon as it was known that the Admiral came from the Indies, it was wonderful how many people came from Lisbon to see him and the Indians, giving thanks to our Lord, and saying that the heavenly Majesty had given all this to the Sovereigns of Castille as a reward for their faith and their great desire to serve God.

Thursday, 7th of March.

To-day an immense number of people came to the caravel, including many knights, and amongst them the agents of the king, and all gave infinite thanks to our Lord for so wide an increase of Christianity granted by our Lord to the Sovereigns of Castille; and they said that they received it because their Highnesses had worked and labored for the increase of the religion of Christ.

Friday, 8th of March.

To-day the Admiral received a letter from the King of Portugal, brought by Don Martin de Noroña, asking him to visit him where he was, as the weather was not suitable for the departure of the caravel. He complied, to prevent suspicion, although he did not wish to go, and went to pass the night at Sacanben. The king had given orders to his officers that all that the Admiral, his crew, and the caravel were in need of should be given without payment, and that all the Admiral wanted should be complied with.

Saturday, 9th of March.

To-day the Admiral left Sacanben, to go where the king was residing, which was at Valparaiso, nine leagues from Lisbon. Owing to the rain, he did not arrive until night.

The king caused him to be received very honorably by the principal officers of his household; and the king himself received the Admiral with great favor, making him sit down, and talking very pleasantly. He offered to give orders that everything should be done for the service of the Sovereigns of Castille, and said that the successful termination of the voyage had given him great pleasure. He said further that he understood that, in the capitulation between the Sovereigns and himself, that conquest belonged to him. The Admiral replied that he had not seen the capitulation, nor knew more than that the Sovereigns had ordered him not to go either to Lamina or to any other port of Guinea, and that this had been ordered to be proclaimed in all the ports of Andalusia before he sailed. The king graciously replied that he held it for certain that there would be no necessity for any arbitrators. The Admiral was assigned as a guest to the Prior of Crato, who was the principal person present, and from whom he received many favors and civilities.

Sunday, 10th of March.

To-day, after Mass, the king repeated that if the Admiral wanted anything he should have it. He conversed much with the Admiral respecting his voyage, always ordering him to sit down, and treated him with great favor.

Monday, 11th of March.

To-day the Admiral took leave of the king, who intrusted him with some messages to the Sovereigns, and always treated him with much friendliness. He departed after dinner, Don Martin de Noroña being sent with him, and all the knights set out with him, and went with him some distance, to do him honor. Afterwards he came to a monastery of San Antonio, near a place called Villafranca, where the queen was residing. The Admiral went to do her reverence and to kiss her hand, because she had sent to say that he was not to go without seeing her. The

duke and the marquis were with her, and the Admiral was received with much honor. He departed at night, and went to sleep at Llandra.

Tuesday, 12th of March.

To-day, as he was leaving Llandra to return to the caravel, an esquire of the king arrived, with an offer that, if he desired to go to Castille by land, he should be supplied with lodgings, and beasts, and all that was necessary. When the Admiral took leave of him, he ordered a mule to be supplied to him, and another for his pilot, who was with him, and he says that the pilot received a present of twenty *espadines*. He said this that the Sovereigns might know all that was done. He arrived on board the caravel that night.

Wednesday, 13th of March.

To-day, at eight o'clock, with the flood tide, and the wind N. N. W., the Admiral got under weigh and made sail for Seville.

Thursday, 14th of March.

Yesterday, after sunset, a southerly course was steered, and before sunrise they were off Cape St. Vincent, which is in Portugal. Afterwards he shaped a course to the E. for Saltes, and went on all day with little wind, "until now that the ship is off Furon."

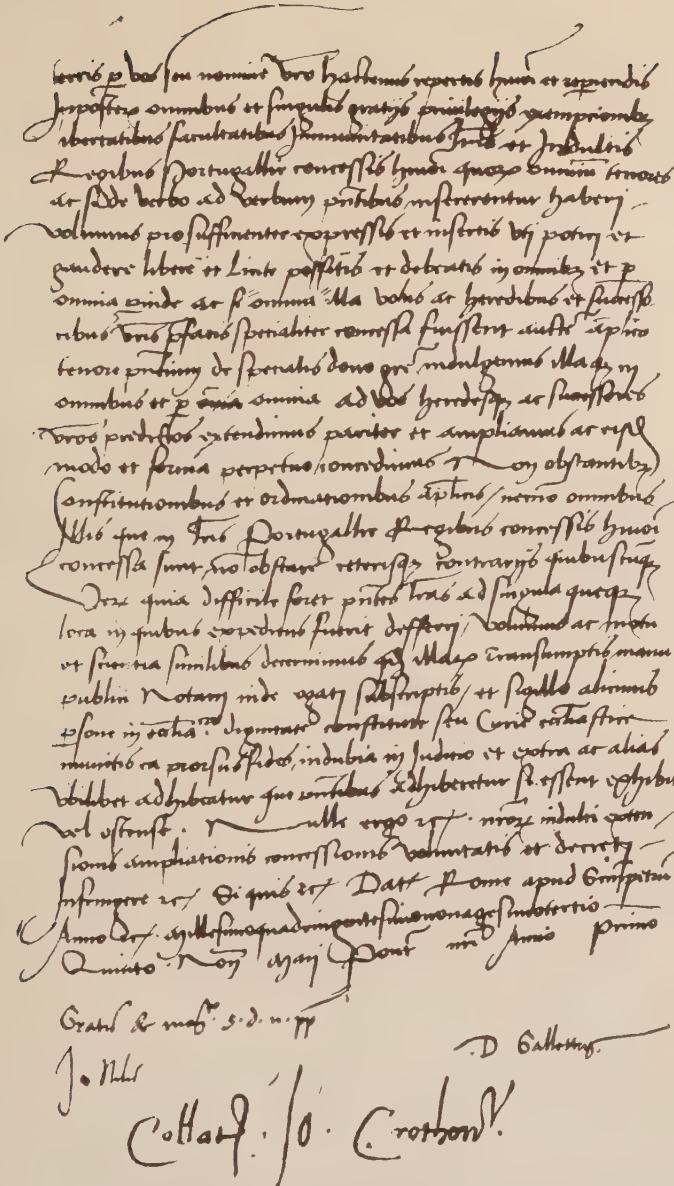
Friday, 15th of March.

Yesterday, after sunset, she went on her course with little wind, and at sunrise she was off Saltes. At noon, with the tide rising, they crossed the bar of Saltes and reached the port which they had left on the 3rd of August of the year before. The Admiral says that so ends this journal, unless it becomes necessary to go to Barcelona by sea, having received news that their Highnesses are in that city, to give an account of all his voyage which our Lord had permitted him to make, and saw fit to set forth in him.

For, assuredly, he held with a firm and strong knowledge that his high Majesty made all things good, and that all is good except sin. Nor can he value or think of anything being done without His consent. "I know respecting this voyage," says the Admiral, "that He has miraculously shown His will, as may be seen from this journal, setting forth the numerous miracles that have been displayed in the voyage, and in me who was so long at the court of your Highnesses, working in opposition to and against the opinions of so many chief persons of your household, who were all against me, looking upon this enterprise as folly. But I hope, in our Lord, that it will be a great benefit to Christianity, for so it has ever appeared." These are the final words of the Admiral Don Cristoval Colon respecting his first voyage to the Indies and their discovery.

podocathanus

Alexander etc. Carissimo in xpo filio Ferdinando Regi et Carissime
in xpo filie Elisabeth Regine Castelle Legionis Aragonum
et Granate Illustribus Salutem etc. Exime devotionis sinceritas
et integra fides quibus nos et Romanam reverentiam eciam non
indigne merentur ut illa vobis favorabiliter concedamus per que
sanctum et laudabile propositum vestrum et opus inceptum in
querendis terris et insulis remotis ac incognitis cudies melius
et facilius ad honorem omnipotentis dei et imperii xpiani
propagationem ac fidei catholice exaltationem prosequi valeatis
Hodie siquidem omnes et singulas terras firmas et insulas
remotas et incognitas versus partes Occidentales et mare
Oceanum consistentes per vos seu nuntios vestros ad id
propterea non sine magnis laboribus periculis et impensis
destinatos repertas et reperiendas imposterum que sub actuali
Dominio temporali aliquorum Dominorum xpianorum constitute
non essent cum omnibus illarum Dominiis Civitatibus Castris
Locis Villis Juribus et Jurisdictionibus universis vobis
heredibusque et successoribus vestris Castelle et Legionis
Regibus in perpetuum motu proprio et ex certa scientia
ac de apostolice potestatis plenitudine donavimus concessimus
et assignavimus prout in nostris inde confectis litteris plenius
continetur. Cum autem alias nonnullis Portugallie
Regibus qui in partibus Africe Guineae Mineae auri
ac alias insulas etiam in similibus concessione et donatione
apostolica eis facta repperierunt et acquisierunt per sedem
apostolicam diversa privilegia gratie libertates immunitates
exemptiones facultates litteras et indulta concessa fuerint
Nos volentes etiam prout dignum et conveniens existit
vos heredesque et successores vestros predictos non minoribus
gratiis prerogativis et favoribus prosequi motu simili
non ad vestram vel alterius pro vobis nobis super hoc
oblate petitionis instantiam sed de nostra mera liberalitate
ac eisdem scientia et apostolice potestatis plenitudine vobis ac
heredibus et successoribus vestris predictis ut in insulis et



Pages from *Eximie Devotionis*, the Papal Bull of Alexander VI., dated May 3, 1493. This document is considered the starting point of the diplomatic history of America. *From the Vatican Archives.*

CHAPTER VII

THE OTHER VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS OF COLUMBUS

On Friday, the 15th of March, 1493, after an absence of seven months and eleven days, Columbus again crossed the bar of Saltes. Hope had now given way to assurance, and he was elated with what he regarded as the complete success of his undertaking. From the Canary Islands Columbus had written to Luis de Santangel and also to the sovereigns, announcing his return, and describing the islands he had discovered and the character and customs of their inhabitants. Although the material gains of the expedition were small in comparison with its hazards and outlays, national pride and the promise of a vast extension of empire outweighed any deficiency in tangible results. Spain and her court were prepared to render him the welcome deserved by his success. His reward was meted out to him in no niggardly fashion; indeed, almost the only praiseworthy action that history records relating to Spain and her early connection with the New World is that she duly honored its discoverer; though in after years this becoming action was sadly tarnished by the unworthy course pursued when he was perfidiously cheated of his guaranteed honors and emoluments. The glowing picture of the Genoese admiral's reception at the court of Castile has oftentimes been drawn and is familiar to most persons. For the facts we are indebted mainly to his son Ferdinand, whose pride in his father's honor is natural, even though at times

it perceptibly colored his statements. He says: "The Admiral then proceeded toward Seville, intending to go from there to Barcelona, where their Catholic majesties were. He was compelled to tarry a little along the way thither, though it were ever so little, to satisfy the curiosity of the people where he went, who came from the neighboring towns to the road along which he journeyed to see him, the Indians, and the other things he brought. Proceeding in this manner, he reached Barcelona about the middle of April, having previously sent their highnesses an account of the good fortune attending his voyage, which exceedingly pleased them, and they appointed him a most impressive reception, as a man that had performed for them an extraordinary commission. All the court and city went out to meet him. Their Catholic majesties sat in public in great state, on costly chairs, under a canopy of gold-cloth; and when he approached to kiss their hands they arose as to a great lord, and were unwilling to give him their hands, and caused him to sit down by them. When he had given them a brief account of his voyage, they permitted him to retire to his apartment, to which he was attended by all the court. And he was so highly honored and favored by their highnesses, that when the king rode about Barcelona, the Admiral was on one side of him, and the Infante Fortuna on the other, for before this, no one rode by the side of his majesty but the Infante, who was his near kinsman."

In order to understand better the part played by Spain in the discoveries in the New World, we should consider the conditions which prevailed in that country at the close of the fifteenth century. The dominant force in the national and social life was the Inquisition, the power of whose officers was almost unlimited. The sombre acts of this institution tarnished the history of the Roman Catholic Church and unhappily gave to the national religion in Spain an imperishable record of infamy. Far from spreading the spirit of justice, mercy, and truth, it encouraged the most

fanatical superstition and cruelty. To this baneful influence, then, may be traced the inconsistent elements of the national character; it actuated the Castilian explorers of the New World, who exhibited a brilliant but lurid mingling of dashing bravery and abominable cruelty, bigoted piety and conscienceless avarice: they were the exponents of the controlling spirit of the nation at that period.

Spain was now emerging from a position of inferiority among the nations, and the national mind was exalted with a sense of greatness that naturally predisposed to aggrandizement of empire. Previous to the conquest of Granada and the unification of Aragon and Castile in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella, Spain had presented to the world little more than the spectacle of a group of weak and warring provinces. Suddenly, and as a consequence of these three events,—the conquest of the Moors, the union of the thrones of Aragon and Castile, and the discovery of America,—Spain astonished Europe by attaining a foremost position among the nations and in the arena of diplomacy. Naturally, her chief rival was Portugal, owing to close neighborhood and the fact of the maritime activity of the latter country. In those times, it was commonly accepted that all heathen lands unclaimed by Christian nations were by right of his office under the control of the Pope of Rome, and that he could present the title to them to any Christian power he might choose. Pope Martin V. had accordingly granted to the crown of Portugal the possession of all lands that might be discovered between Cape Bojador and the Indies, going eastward. Immediately upon Columbus's return, an ambassador was despatched to Rome with the announcement of the new discoveries and a request that the papal authorization might be granted for their acquirement by the Spanish realm. Pope Alexander VI. acceded to this demand all the more willingly because of the sovereigns' triumph over the Mohammedan power in Granada, and especially because in the Spaniard's message there was the suspicion of a hint that in any case he intended to hold that which had fallen into his hands by discovery.

The result of these negotiations was the famous Bull establishing a line of demarcation on either side of which Spain and Portugal might discover and appropriate lands *ad infinitum*, so long as there remained a foot of the earth's surface which had not already fallen into the possession of some Christian power. The extraordinary power claimed by the Pontiff, the remarkable nature of the document, and its epochal character, are conclusive reasons for its insertion here *in extenso:*

The copy of the Bull or donation by the authority whereof Pope Alexander the VI. of that name gave and granted to the kings of Castile and their successors the Regions and Islands found in the West Ocean sea by the navigations of the Spaniards.

Alexander bishop, the servant of the servants of God: to our most dear beloved son in Christ King Ferdinand; and to our dear beloved daughter in Christ Elizabeth Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, and Granada, most noble Princes, Greeting and Apostolic Benediction.

Among other works acceptable to the divine majesty and according to our heart's desire, this certainly is the chief, that the Catholic faith and Christian religion, especially in this our time may in all places be exalted, amplified, and enlarged, whereby the health of souls may be procured, and the barbarous nations subdued and brought to the faith. And therefore whereas by the favor of God's clemency (although not without equal deserts) we are called to this holy seat of Peter, and understanding you to be true Catholic Princes as we have ever known you, and as your noble and worthy acts have declared in manner to the whole world in that with all your study, diligence, and industry, you have spared no travels, charges, or perils, adventuring even the shedding of your own blood with applying your whole minds and endeavors hereunto, as your noble expeditions achieved in recovering the kingdom of Granada from the tyranny of the Saracens in these our days, do plainly declare your facts with so great glory of the Divine Name. For

the which as we think you worthy, so ought we of our own free will favorably to grant you all things whereby you may daily with more fervent minds to the honor of God and enlarging the Christian empire, prosecute your devout and laudable purpose most acceptable to the immortal God. We are credibly informed that whereas of late you were determined to seek and find certain Islands and firm lands far remote and unknown (and not heretofore found by any other) to the intent to bring the inhabitants of the same to honor our Redeemer and to profess the Catholic faith, you have hitherto been much occupied in the expurgation and recovery of the kingdom of Granada, by reason whereof you could not bring your said laudable purpose to the end desired. Nevertheless as it hath pleased Almighty God, the aforesaid kingdom being recovered, willing to accomplish your said desire, you have, not without great labor, perils, and charges, appointed our well beloved son Christopher Columbus (a man certainly well commended as most worthy and apt for so great a matter) well furnished with men and ships and other necessaries, to seek (by the sea where hitherto no man hath sailed) such firm lands and Islands far remote and hitherto unknown. Who (by God's help) making diligent search in the Ocean sea, hath found certain remote Islands and firm lands which were not heretofore found by any other. In the which (as is said) many nations inhabit living peaceably and going naked, not accustomed to eat flesh. And as far as your messengers can conjecture, the nations inhabiting the aforesaid lands and Islands believe that there is one God Creator in heaven; and seem apt to be brought to the embracing of the Catholic faith and to be imbued with good manners: by reason whereof, we may hope that if they be well instructed, they may easily be induced to receive the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ. We are further advertised that the forenamed Christopher hath now builded and erected a fortress with good munition on one of the aforesaid principal Islands, in the which he hath placed a garrison of certain

of the Christian men that went thither with him: as well to the intent to defend the same, as also to search other Islands and firm lands far remote as yet unknown. We also understand, that in these lands and Islands lately found, is a great plenty of gold and spices, with divers and many other precious things of sundry kinds and qualities. Therefore all things diligently considered (especially the amplifying and enlarging of the Catholic faith, as it behooveth Catholic Princes following the examples of your noble progenitors of famous memory) whereas you are determined by the favor of Almighty God to subdue and bring to the Catholic faith the inhabitants of the aforesaid lands and Islands.

We, greatly commending this your godly and laudable purpose in our Lord, and desirous to have the same brought to a due end, and the name of our Saviour to be known in those parts, do exhort you in our Lord and by the receiving of your holy baptism whereby you are bound to Apostolical obedience, and earnestly require you by the bowels of mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, that when you intend for the zeal of the Catholic faith to prosecute the said expedition to reduce the people of the foresaid lands and Islands to the Christian religion you shall spare no labors at any time, or be deterred with any perils, conceiving firm hope and confidence that the omnipotent God will give good success to your godly attempts. And that being authorized by the privilege of the Apostolical grace, you may the more freely and boldly take upon you the enterprise of so great a matter, we of our own motion and not either at your request or at the instant petition of any other person, but of our own mere liberality and certain science, and by the fulness of Apostolical power, do give, grant, and assign to you, your heirs and successors, all the firm lands and Islands found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered toward the West and the South, drawing a line from the pole Arctic to the pole Antarctic (that is) from the North to the South: Containing in this donation, whatsoever firm lands or Islands are found or to be found toward India or toward

any other part whatsoever it be, being distant from, or without the foresaid line drawn a hundred leagues toward the West and South from any of the Islands which are commonly called De Los Azores and Cabo Verde. All the Islands therefore and firm lands, found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered from the said line toward the West and South, such as have not actually been heretofore possessed by any other Christian king or prince until the day of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ last past, from the which beginneth this present year, being the year of our Lord M. CCCC. LXX. XXIII. whensoever any such shall be found by your messengers and captains.

We, by the authority of Almighty God granted unto us in St. Peter, and by the office which we bear on the earth in the stead of Jesus Christ, do forever by the tenor of these presents, give, grant, and assign, unto you, your heirs, and successors (the Kings of Castile and Leon) all those lands and Islands, with their dominions, territories, cities, castles, towers, places, and villages, with all the rights and jurisdictions thereunto pertaining; constituting, assigning, and deputing, you, your heirs, and successors the lords thereof, with full and free power, authority, and jurisdiction. Decreeing nevertheless by this our donation, grant, and assignation, that from no Christian Prince which actually hath possessed the aforesaid Islands and firm lands until the day of the nativity of our Lord beforesaid their right obtained to be understood hereby to be taken away, as that it ought to be taken away.

Furthermore we command you in the virtue of holy obedience (as you have promised, and as we doubt not you will do upon mere devotion and princely magnanimity) to send to the said firm lands and Islands, honest, virtuous, and learned men, such as fear God, and are able to instruct the inhabitants in the Catholic faith and good manners, applying all their possible diligence in the premises.

We furthermore straitly inhibit all manner of persons, of what state, degree, order, or condition soever they be,

though of imperial or regal dignity, under the pain of the sentence of excommunication which they shall incur if they do to the contrary, that they in no case presume without special licence of you, your heirs, and successors, to travel for merchandise or for any other cause, to the said lands or Islands, found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and South, drawing a line from the pole Arctic to the pole Antarctic, whether the firm lands and Islands found and to be found, be situate toward India or toward any other part being distant from the line drawn a hundred leagues toward the West from any of the Islands commonly called De Los Azores and Cabo Verde: Notwithstanding constitutions, decrees and Apostolical ordinances whatsoever there are to the contrary: in Him from whom empires, dominions, and all good things do proceed: Trusting that Almighty God directing your enterprises, if you follow your godly and laudable attempts, your labors and travels therein, shall in a short time attain a happy end with felicity and glory of all Christian people, but for as much as it should be a thing of great difficulty these letters to be carried to all such places as should be expedient, we will, and of like motion and knowledge do decree that whithersoever the same shall be sent, or wheresoever they shall be received with the subscription of a common notary thereunto required, with the seal of any person constitute an ecclesiastical court, or such as are authorized by the ecclesiastical court, the same faith and credit to be given thereunto in judgment or elsewhere, as should be exhibited to these presents.

It shall therefore be lawful for no man to infringe or rashly to contrary this letter of our commendation, exhortation, request, donation, grant, assignation, constitution, deputation, decree, commandment, inhibition, and determination. And if any shall presume to attempt the same, he ought to know that he shall thereby incur the indignation of Almighty God and his Holy Apostles Peter and Paul.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's: In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord M. CCCC. LXX. XXIII. the fourth day of the Nones of May the first year of our seat.

This decree ceded to Spain the whole of the American continent, with the exception of the Brazilian coast. But Portugal was dissatisfied with the imaginary north and south line of demarcation extending through a point one hundred leagues from the Cape Verd Islands, and the matter was adjusted by the treaty of Tordesillas, which was signed by the monarchs of both countries on June 7, 1494, by virtue of which this line was drawn at a distance of three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verd Islands.

The honors conferred on Columbus were powerless to delay him in the further execution of his project, and, unwilling to consume much time in the enjoyment of his triumph in Spain, he had meanwhile secured the organization of a new expedition under his direction. There was now no difficulty in obtaining ships or sailors to man them. In order to provide for the former, the sovereigns decreed that all vessels belonging to Spanish subjects on the coast of Andalusia should be subject to seizure by Columbus, due compensation to be made to the owners. Men for the adventure were abundant; sailors and landsmen everywhere were eager to view these new lands, and seek their fortunes there, where incalculable wealth was reputed to exist. On the 25th of September, 1493, Columbus sailed from Cadiz with a fleet of seventeen vessels. No less than fifteen hundred adventurers accompanied him, and he was furnished with every requisite for planting new colonies. A voyage of thirty-eight days brought the admiral to the island of Dominica. Thence he sailed northward and discovered the island which he named Santa Maria de Guadalupe; here his people went ashore, but found that the inhabitants had fled at their approach, apparently so precipitately

that they left behind some of their children. The Spaniards tied small gifts to the arms of these infants, and thus succeeded in convincing the parents of the good will of their visitors and luring them to intercourse. On this island the explorers found the people living in some degree of comfort, for they saw in the houses "a great deal of cotton, spun and unspun, and looms to weave." A less satisfactory sight was the great number of human bones strewn about, which convinced Columbus and his men that they had reached the islands of the Caribbeans, who were cannibals. While at this island, six women came to the ships of their own accord, and it was learned that they had been taken captives by the fierce Caribs. These women were able to indicate to Columbus the way in which the island of Española lay. Taking them with him, he proceeded toward that point, anxious to ascertain what fortune had befallen the garrison that he had left at La Navidad from the first expedition. On the way he discovered the islands of Montserrat, Santa Maria la Redonda, Santa Maria la Antigua, and the island of San Martin. At the last mentioned, "which seemed worth the finding," the explorers went ashore. They found that the inhabitants here also were Caribs, and, unlike the natives of Española, so courageous that they disputed the Spaniards' landing, some of the latter being wounded in the attempt. On Thursday, the 14th of November, they passed the island of Santa Cruz, and two days later came to an island which was called by the natives "Burenquen," now known as Porto Rico.

Columbus arrived off the north coast of Española on the 12th of November. As we have previously related, he found nothing but the ruins of the fortress of La Navidad, the outrageous conduct of the men he had left there having brought about their complete destruction by Carib Indians. That Guacanagari, the chief of the local inhabitants, had remained faithful to the Spaniards was proved by the fact that he was still suffering from a wound received in their defence. While here, writes Dr. Chanca, who was

physician to the fleet, "Guacanagari's brother, and others with him, came on board, bringing gold to barter: on the day of our departure also they bartered a great quantity of gold. There were ten women on board, of those which had been taken in the Caribbee islands, principally from Burenquen, and it was observed that the brother of Guacanagari spoke with them; we think that he told them to make an effort to escape that night; for certainly during our first sleep they dropped themselves quietly into the water, and went on shore, so that by the time they were missed they had reached such a distance that only four could be taken by the boats which went in pursuit, and these were secured when just leaving the water; they had to swim considerably more than half a league. The next morning the Admiral sent to desire that Guacanagari would cause search to be made for the women who had escaped in the night, and that he would send them back to the ships. When the messengers arrived they found the place forsaken and not a soul there."

Columbus now planned to found a town which would serve as the capital of his viceroyalty and a base for future operations and explorations. With this object in view, he sailed eastward on the 9th of December. A suitable spot being found, "he landed with all his men, provisions and implements, which he brought in the ships of the fleet, at a plain, near a rock, on which a fort could easily be built. Here he erected a town, and called it Isabella, in honor of Queen Isabella. This place was deemed very suitable, inasmuch as the harbor was very large, though exposed to the northwest, and had an attractive river a bowshot from it, from which canals of water might be cut to run through the middle of the town, and beyond was an extensive plain, from which the Indians said the mines of Cibao were not very distant. For these reasons the Admiral was eager to found the colony. On account of the fatigue of the voyage and that caused by his labor here, he did not have time to write in his journal, from day to day, what happened, as

had been his habit. He also fell sick, which interrupted his writing from the eleventh of December to the twelfth of March, 1494. Meanwhile he administered the affairs of the town according to his ability. He instructed Alonso de Hojeda with fifteen men to discover the mines of Cibao. Afterward, on the second of February, twelve ships of the fleet set sail for Castile, under the command of Antonio de Torres."—(*Historie del Fernando Colombo.*) Thus was planted the first European town in western lands.

The ships carried home enough gold, found by Hojeda, to make credible the reports which Columbus also sent of dazzling prospects in the plain of Cibao. Chanca wrote: "The party that went to Cibao saw gold in so many places that one scarcely dares state the fact, for in truth they found it in more than fifty streams and rivers, as well as upon their banks; so that the captain said they had only to seek throughout that province, and they would find as much as they wished. He brought specimens from the different parts, that is, from the sand of the rivers and small springs. It is thought that by digging as we know how, it will be found in greater pieces, for the Indians neither know how to dig nor have the means of digging more than a hand's depth. The other captain, who went to Niti, returned also with news of a great quantity of gold in three or four places; of which he likewise brought specimens.

"Thus, surely, their Highnesses the King and Queen may henceforth regard themselves as the most prosperous and wealthy Sovereigns in the world; never yet, since the creation, has such a thing been seen or read of; for on the return of the ships from their next voyage, they will be able to carry back such a quantity of gold as will fill with amazement all who hear of it." This prediction served for a time to allay the rapacious demand in Spain for the enormous profits which this discovery of what was supposed to be the extremity of the Khan's domain was expected to yield. Trouble, however, was beginning to loom up on

the horizon of Columbus's life. Disaffection was beginning to manifest itself among the adventurers at Isabella. There were those who were inclined to doubt that they had reached the proximity of the lands described by Marco Polo, or were likely to find any quantity of the fabulous wealth which they had been led to expect. A faction inimical to Columbus was created, but was discovered in time for him to defend himself from any immediate injury.

Columbus now determined to seek the mainland. Leaving, therefore, a council, with his brother Diego as president, to govern the colony, he sailed on the 29th of April to the island of Cuba. There the inhabitants, in response to his questions as to where gold might be found, pointed to the south; and on the 3d of May the Admiral went in search of the island which they indicated. The result of this trip was the discovery of Jamaica on the 5th of May, 1494. At first the natives were disposed to receive the Spaniards with hostility; in fact, there was a slight fray in which some of the Indians were killed; but the forbearance of Columbus soon won them to accept tokens of amity. Finding no gold, he returned to Cuba, determined "to coast along it, intending not to return until he had sailed five or six hundred leagues, and was satisfied whether it were a continent or an island." It is stated that while on this voyage, so convinced was he—or at least anxious to have all the world believe—that he had reached the mainland of Cathay, that he compelled everyone with him to take oath before a notary that the land in sight was that of the continent of Asia. He also threatened that if any should assert to the contrary he should be punished, if an officer, by fine, if a common person, by having his tongue cut out. According to Peter Martyr, Columbus believed that he was at that moment in the gulf of the river Ganges. Had he continued his journey but two or three days longer, he would have discovered the truth. But, his supplies giving out, he resolved to return to Isabella, which he reached on the

29th of September. The admiral was so ill at this time that his men were obliged to carry him ashore; his mind also was burdened with disappointment, for as yet he had seen no signs of that wealth and civilization which were needed to warrant his belief that he had indeed reached the dominions of the Great Khan. On reaching Isabella, he was surprised and cheered by finding his brother Bartholomew, who had been sent out by Ferdinand in command of three ships bringing supplies. Columbus at once invested his brother with the title and authority of adelantado, putting him in charge of the administration of the colony.

The affairs of the New World were become of such enlarged importance and complexity as to be beyond the control of Columbus, whose mental disposition did not adapt him to cope successfully with the difficulties of administration. Hojeda, whose restless spirit would neither allow him to abide in the peaceful pursuits of a colony nor carry on active enterprises in a subordinate position, had precipitated the first war with the natives. Men had been sent out from Spain in official capacities in commands which neutralized Columbus's authority as viceroy. These were disposed to manifest an insubordination and an unwillingness to operate peacefully with the admiral's appointees. Everything on the island of Española pointed to a disorganization of the newly instituted Spanish government. What was still worse, some of the disaffected ones who had come out with Columbus had returned to Spain during his absence to sow the seeds of malicious intrigue against the admiral and suspicious distrust of him at the court. Columbus went actively to work to put down the insurrection of the natives, which had been aroused by the licentious and avaricious conduct of his countrymen. This he did with a firm hand, and it must be confessed that in his future treatment of the natives there is a diminished measure of that forbearance and humanity which had at first characterized his conduct toward them. They

were reduced to servitude and misery by the laying upon them of a heavy tribute. A great number were captured and sent to Spain. Indeed, Columbus recommended that a profitable trade be established by the exportation of Indians to supply the slave market. It must be said, however, in extenuation of the discoverer that he was but acting in conformity with the custom of his time, which recognized slavery as a legitimate institution.

Having by these means established peace in the island and placed the government of the colony in the hands of his brother Bartholomew, Columbus started on the return voyage to Spain on the 10th of March, 1496. He carried with him thirty Indians, and among them Caonabo, the brave and fierce Carib chief of Haiti. This cacique was spared, however, the experience and the pain of exhibition in the land of the invaders of his country, he having died on the voyage.

Although the admiral was cordially received by the sovereigns, he was well aware that the star of his popularity was waning. Enemies had misrepresented him, and admiration of his achievements was fast giving place to envy of his privileges. The glory of his discoveries was being offset by the paucity of the returns. He had added new lands to the realm of Spain, but they had so far proved to be peopled only with savages, and there was no trace of the treasures of Cathay to which he had promised to open a road. Still, he had the confidence and the courage to ask for another fleet with which he might return to exploit the mines of Hayna in Cuba, which he assured the sovereigns were no other than the Ophir referred to in Scripture. He also wished to explore the mainland. Ferdinand Columbus says that "the fitting out of this fleet was delayed much longer than was necessary through the negligence and bad management of the king's officers, and particularly of Don Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, Archdeacon of Seville. Hence it happened that Don Juan, who was afterward Bishop of Burgos, was, from that time onward, a bitter enemy to the

Admiral and his affairs, and was the chief person among those who brought him into disgrace with their Catholic Majesties." But the king had also begun to cool in his regard for Columbus and his work, though probably for no other reason than that, so far, these western expeditions had been more costly than profitable. Columbus himself suffered so greatly from this result, owing to the eighth share of the expense which he was bound to incur, and which his discoveries had not reimbursed him, that he was inextricably in debt. But Isabella again came to his aid, and through her interest he obtained his fleet; and on the 30th of May, 1498, with six ships, he again sailed to the west. When it is remembered that in order to find enough men to man these vessels the government was obliged to resort to granting pardon to criminals, on condition that they embarked, it is very manifest how these transatlantic enterprises had fallen in the popular estimation; and this fact equally explains the treatment which the natives received from the adventurers.

The first land which Columbus saw on this voyage was the island which he named Trinidad, for "God had graciously granted him the sight of three mountains close together." This was on July 31, 1498. Coasting around this island, he saw land to the southward, which was in fact the mouth of the Orinoco; and thus, though unconsciously, Columbus for the first time beheld the continent which was to be called America. Passing between Trinidad and Venezuela, which he then named Gracia, he was surprised by the flood of fresh water which the Orinoco pours into the Gulf of Paria; and in accordance with his cherished theory that the seat of the Garden of Eden was in that neighborhood, he conceived the possibility of this being one of the four great rivers which in Scripture are said to flow from it. A real discovery of more practical value than this supposititious one was the abundance of pearls worn by the natives of Trinidad and the country bordering on the Gulf of Paria.

Columbus reached Isabella during the latter part of August, and found the whole island in a tumult of dissension and insurrection. Where previously there had been but factions, there were now antagonistic encampments. He set himself to restore order. Some of the unruly Spaniards he sent home, and of a few he made a salutary and well-deserved example by hanging them. The men who returned to Spain carried with them such reports of his rule as suited their interests or their malice. The admiral's own letters gave plain evidence of the demoralized condition of the island. The opportunity was thus afforded the king, who had always regarded Columbus with jealousy, to curtail the admiral's privileges. Accordingly he sent out Bobadilla as a commissioner to inquire into the nature of the disputes which were vitiating the admiral's government. The letter of authority given Bobadilla read as follows: "We order you . . . to ascertain who and what persons they were who rose against the said admiral and our magistracy, and for what cause; and what robberies and other injuries they have committed; and furthermore, to extend your inquiries to all other matters relating to the premises; and the information obtained, and the truth known, whomsoever you find culpable, arrest their persons, and sequestrate their effects." These directions were impossible of application to Columbus under any circumstances; but Bobadilla was a friend of Fonseca, and from the beginning was prejudiced against the admiral. He may have acted conscientiously, being convinced by *ex parte* evidence that Columbus and his brothers had governed in a cruel manner. But he far exceeded his authority and did gross injustice in seizing the admiral's effects and sending that famous man back to Spain in chains. Columbus submitted to this wrong, in the determination that he would seek for justice only before the person of the king. Alonso de Villejo, who had command of the ships conveying him, would have taken off the chains, but Columbus replied: "No, their majesties commanded me by letter to submit to whatever

Bobadilla should order in their name; by their authority he has put upon me these chains; I will wear them until they shall order them to be taken off, and I will preserve them afterward as relics and memorials of the reward of my services." He could not have followed a course more effective for his own vindication. When he thus arrived in Cadiz, all Spain was shocked; and the sovereigns lost no time in doing him justice and spared no pains in doing him honor.

In the meantime, other commanders were making important discoveries in the New World, especially Hojeda, Vicente Yañez Pinzon, and Cabot; but we will leave the consideration of these to another chapter and hasten to the narrative of Columbus's fourth and last voyage. Vasco da Gama had at last doubled Cape of Good Hope and really made his way to India. This success fired Columbus with new ardor to prove his theory that the same country might be reached by the transatlantic voyage. He believed that the strong currents which he had noticed in the Caribbean Sea were sure indications of an opening into the Indian Ocean; his fourth voyage was projected in the hope that he might prove this contention. On the 9th of May, 1502, he sailed from Cadiz with four small caravels, taking with him his brother Bartholomew and his son Ferdinand, also certain persons who were expected to act as interpreters when he came into the domain of the Khan. The result of this voyage was the exploration of what he calls the coast of Veragua, in reality the Isthmus of Panama, though he did not discover that so narrow a neck of land lay between him and the Pacific Ocean, which still intervened ere the Cathay of his lifelong quest might be reached. On the contrary, he spoke of Veragua as "the province of Mango," which, as he read in his favorite authors, "is contiguous to that of Cathay." The recollection of the incalculable value of the services of the author, the recital of the hardships endured, the just complaint of the old man heart-wearied with the wrongs done him by those who had

profited by his toils, make the story of this voyage, addressed to the sovereigns whom he had so faithfully served, one of the most pathetic documents of history; it can only be fitly told in his own words.

FOURTH VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS

Most Serene, and very High and Mighty Princes, the King and Queen our Sovereigns:

My passage from Cadiz to the Canary occupied four days, and thence to the Indies, from which I wrote, sixteen days. My intention was to expedite my voyage as much as possible while I had good vessels, good crews and stores, and because Jamaica was the place to which I was bound. I wrote this in Dominica.

Up to the period of my reaching these shores I experienced most excellent weather, but the night of my arrival came in with a dreadful tempest, and the same bad weather has continued ever since. On reaching the island of Española I despatched a packet of letters, by which I begged as a favor that a ship should be supplied me at my own cost in lieu of one of those that I had brought with me, and which had become unseaworthy, and could no longer carry sail. The letters were taken, and your Highnesses will know if a reply has been given to them. For my part, I was forbidden to go on shore; the hearts of my people failed them lest I should take them further, and they said that if any danger were to befall them, they should receive no succor, but, on the contrary, in all probability, have some great affront offered them. Moreover, every man had it in his power to tell me that the new Governor would have the superintendence of the countries that I might acquire.

The tempest was terrible throughout the night; all the ships were separated, and each one driven to the last extremity, without hope of anything but death; each of them also looked upon the loss of the rest as a matter of certainty. What man was ever born, not even excepting Job,

who would not have been ready to die of despair at finding himself as I then was, in anxious fear for my own safety, and that of my son, my brother, and my friends, and yet refused permission either to land or to put into harbor on the shores which by God's mercy I had gained for Spain with so much toil and danger?

But to return to the ships; although the tempest had so completely separated them from me as to leave me single, yet the Lord restored them to me in His own good time. The ship which we had the greatest fear for had put out to sea for safety, and reached the island of Gallega, having lost her boat and a great part of her provisions, which latter loss indeed all the ships suffered. The vessel in which I was, though dreadfully buffeted, was saved by our Lord's mercy from any injury whatever; my brother went into the ship that was unsound, and he under God was the cause of its being saved. With this tempest I struggled on till I reached Jamaica, and there the sea became calm, but there was a strong current which carried me as far as the Queen's Garden without seeing land. Hence as opportunity afforded I pushed on for *terra firma*, in spite of the wind and a fearful contrary current, against which I contended for sixty days, and after all only made seventy leagues. All this time I was unable to get into harbor, nor was there any cessation of the tempest, which was one continuation of rain, thunder, and lightning; indeed, it seemed as if it were the end of the world. I at length reached Cabo de Gracias à Dios, and after that the Lord granted me fair wind and tide; this was on the twelfth of September. Eighty-eight days did this fearful tempest continue, during which I was at sea, and saw neither sun nor stars; my ships lay exposed, with sails torn, and anchors, rigging, cables, boats, and a great quantity of provisions lost; my people were very weak and humbled in spirit, many of them promising to lead a religious life, and all making vows and promising to perform pilgrimages, while some of them would frequently go to their messmates to make confession. Other tempests have

been experienced, but never of so long a duration or so fearful as this; many whom we looked upon as brave men, on several occasions showed considerable trepidation; but the distress of my son who was with me grieved me to the soul, and the more when I considered his tender age, for he was but thirteen years old, and he enduring so much toil for so long a time. Our Lord, however, gave him strength even to enable him to encourage the rest, and he worked as if he had been eighty years at sea, and all this was a consolation to me. I myself had fallen sick, and was many times at the point of death, but from a little cabin that I had caused to be constructed on deck I directed our course. My brother was in the ship that was in the worst condition and the most exposed to danger; and my grief on this account was the greater that I brought him with me against his will.

Such is my fate, that the twenty years of service through which I have passed with so much toil and danger have profited me nothing, and at this very day I do not possess a roof in Spain that I can call my own; if I wish to eat or sleep, I have nowhere to go but to the inn or tavern, and most times lack wherewith to pay the bill. Another anxiety wrung my very heart-strings, which was the thought of my son Diego, whom I had left an orphan in Spain, and stripped of the honor and property which were due to him on my account, although I had looked upon it as a certainty that your Majesties, as just and grateful Princes, would restore it to him in all respects with increase. I had reached the land of Cariay, where I stopped to repair my vessels and take in provisions, as well as to afford relaxation to the men, who had become very weak. I myself, who, as I said before, had been several times at the point of death, gained information respecting the gold mines of which I was in search, in the province of Ciamba; and two Indians conducted me to Carambaru, where the people, who go naked, wear golden mirrors round their necks, which they will neither sell, give, nor part with for any consideration. They named to me many places on the seacoast

where there were both gold and mines. The last that they mentioned was Veragua, which was about twenty-five leagues distant from the place where we then were. I started with the intention of visiting all of them, but when I had reached the middle of my journey I learned that there were other mines at so short a distance that they might be reached in two days. I determined on sending to see them. It was on the eve of St. Simon and St. Jude, which was the day fixed for our departure; but that night there arose so violent a storm that we were forced to go wherever it drove us, and the Indian who was to conduct us to the mines was with us all the time. As I had found everything true that had been told me in the different places which I had visited, I felt satisfied it would be the same with respect to Ciguare, which, according to their account, is nine days' journey across the country westward; they tell me there is a great quantity of gold there, and that the inhabitants wear coral ornaments on their heads, and very large coral bracelets and anklets, with which article also they adorn and inlay their seats, boxes, and tables. They also said that the women there wore necklaces hanging down to their shoulders. All the people agree in the report I now repeat, and their account is so favorable that I should be content with the tithe of the advantages that their description holds out. They are all likewise acquainted with the pepper plant. According to the account of these people, the inhabitants of Ciguare are accustomed to hold fairs and markets for carrying on their commerce, and they showed me also the mode and form in which they transact their various exchanges. Others assert that their ships carry guns, and that the men go clothed and use bows and arrows, swords, and cuirasses, and that on shore they have horses which they use in battle, and that they wear rich clothes and have most excellent houses. They also say that the sea surrounds Ciguare, and that at ten days' journey from thence is the river Ganges. These lands appear to have the same bearings with respect to Veragua as

Tortosa has to Fontarabia, or Pisa to Venice. When I left Carambaru and reached the places in its neighborhood, which I have above mentioned as being spoken of by the Indians, I found the customs of the people correspond with the accounts that had been given of them, except as regarded the golden mirrors: any man who had one of them would willingly part with it for three hawks' bells, although they were equivalent in weight to ten or fifteen ducats. These people resemble the natives of Española in all their habits. They have various modes of collecting the gold, none of which will bear comparison with the plans adopted by the Christians.

All that I have here stated is from hearsay. This, however, I know, that in the year ninety-four I sailed twenty-four degrees to the westward in nine hours, and there can be no mistake upon the subject, because there was an eclipse; the sun was in Libra and the moon in Aries. What I had learned by the mouth of these people I already knew in detail from books. Ptolemy thought that he had satisfactorily corrected Marinus, and yet this latter appears to have come very near to the truth. Ptolemy places Catigara at a distance of twelve lines to the west of his meridian, which he fixes at two degrees and a third above Cape St. Vincent, in Portugal. Marinus comprises the earth and its limits in fifteen lines, and the same author describes the Indus in Ethiopia as being more than twenty-four degrees from the equinoctial line, and now that the Portuguese have sailed there they find it correct. Ptolemy says also that the most southern land is the first boundary, and that it does not go lower down than fifteen degrees and a third. The world is but small; out of seven divisions of it the dry part occupies six, and the seventh only is covered by water. Experience has shown it, and I have written it with quotations from the Holy Scripture, in other letters, where I have treated of the situation of the terrestrial paradise, as approved by Holy Church; and I say that the world is not so large as vulgar opinion makes it, and that one

degree from the equinoctial line measures fifty-six miles and two-thirds; and this may be proved to a nicety. But I leave this subject, which it is not my intention now to treat upon, but simply to give a narrative of my laborious and painful voyage, although of all my voyages it is the most honorable and advantageous. I have said that on the eve of St. Simon and St. Jude I ran before the wind wherever it took me, without power to resist it; at length I found shelter for ten days from the roughness of the sea and the tempest overhead, and resolved not to attempt to go back to the mines, which I regarded as already in our possession. When I started in pursuance of my voyage it was under a heavy rain, and reaching the harbor of Bastimentos I put in, though much against my will. The storm and a rapid current kept me in for fourteen days, when I again set sail, but not with favorable weather. After I had made fifteen leagues with great exertions, the wind and the current drove me back again with great fury, but in again making for the port which I had quitted, I found on the way another port, which I named Retrete, where I put in for shelter with as much risk as regret, the ships being in sad condition, and my crews and myself exceedingly fatigued. I remained there fifteen days, kept in by stress of weather, and when I fancied my troubles were at an end, I found them only begun. It was then that I changed my resolution with respect to proceeding to the mines, and proposed doing something in the interim, until the weather should prove more favorable for my voyage. I had already made four leagues when the storm recommenced, and wearied me to such a degree that I absolutely knew not what to do; my wound reopened, and for nine days my life was despaired of. Never was the sea seen so high, so terrific, and so covered with foam; not only did the wind oppose our proceeding onward, but it also rendered it highly dangerous to run in for any headland, and kept me in that sea which seemed to me as a sea of blood, seething like a cauldron on a mighty fire. Never did the sky look more

fearful; during one day and one night it burned like a furnace, and emitted flashes in such fashion that each time I looked to see if my masts and my sails were not destroyed; these flashes came with such alarming fury that we all thought the ship must have been consumed. All this time the waters from heaven never ceased, not to say that it rained, for it was like a repetition of the Deluge. The men were at this time so crushed in spirit, that they longed for death as a deliverance from so many martyrdoms. Twice already had the ships suffered loss in boats, anchors, and rigging, and were now lying bare without sails.

When it pleased our Lord, I returned to Puerto Gordo, where I recruited my condition as well as I could. I then once more attempted the voyage towards Veragua, although I was by no means in a fit state to undertake it. The wind and currents were still contrary. I arrived at nearly the same spot as before, and there again the wind and currents still opposed my progress; once more I was compelled to put into harbor, not daring to encounter the opposition of Saturn with such a boisterous sea, and on so formidable a coast; for it almost always brings on a tempest or severe weather. This was on Christmas Day, about the hour of mass. Thus, after all these fatigues, I had once more to return to the spot whence I started; and when the new year had set in, I returned again to my task; but although I had fine weather for my voyage, the ships were no longer in a sailing condition, and my people were either dying or very sick. On the day of the Epiphany, I reached Veragua in a state of exhaustion; there, by our Lord's goodness, I found a river and a safe harbor, although at the entrance there were only ten spans of water. I succeeded in making an entry, but with great difficulty; and on the following day the storm recommenced, and had I been still on the outside at that time, I should have been unable to enter on account of the bar. It rained without ceasing until the fourteenth of February, so that I could find no opportunity of penetrating into the interior, nor of recruiting

my condition in any respect whatever; and on the twenty-fourth of January, when I considered myself in perfect safety, the river suddenly rose with great violence to a considerable height, breaking my cables and the supports to which they were fastened, and nearly carrying away my ships altogether, which certainly appeared to me to be in greater danger than ever. Our Lord, however, brought a remedy as He has always done. I do not know if anyone else ever suffered greater trials.

On the sixth of February, while it was still raining, I sent seventy men on shore to go into the interior, and at five leagues' distance they found several mines. The Indians who went with them conducted them to a very lofty mountain, and thence showing them the country all round, as far as the eye could reach, told them there was gold in every part, and that, towards the west, the mines extended twenty days' journey; they also recounted the names of the towns and villages where there was more or less of it. I afterwards learned that the cacique Quibian, who had lent these Indians, had ordered them to show the distant mines, which belonged to an enemy of his; but that in his own territory, one man might, if he would, collect in ten days as much as a child could carry. I bring with me some Indians, his servants, who can bear witness to this fact. The boats went up to the spot where the dwellings of these people are situated; and, after four hours, my brother returned with the guides, all of them bringing back gold which they had collected at that place. The gold must therefore be abundant, and of good quality, for none of these men had ever seen mines before; very many of them had never seen pure gold, and most of them were seamen and lads. Having building materials in abundance, I established a settlement, and made many presents to Quibian, which is the name they gave to the lord of the country. I plainly saw that harmony would not last long, for the natives are of a very rough disposition, and the Spaniards very encroaching; and, moreover, I had taken possession

of land belonging to Quibian. When he saw what we did, and found the traffic increasing, he resolved upon burning the houses, and putting us all to death; but his project did not succeed, for we took him prisoner, together with his wives, his children, and his servants. His captivity, it is true, lasted but a short time, for he eluded the custody of a trustworthy man, into whose charge he had been given, with a guard of men; and his sons escaped from a ship, in which they had been placed under the special charge of the master.

In the month of January, the mouth of the river was entirely closed up; and in April the vessels were so eaten with the teredo that they could scarcely be kept above water. At this time the river forced a channel for itself, by which I managed, with great difficulty, to extricate three of them after I had unloaded them. The boats were then sent back into the river for water and salt, but the sea became so high and furious that it afforded them no chance of exit; upon which the Indians collected themselves together in great numbers, and made an attack upon the boats, and at length massacred the men. My brother, and all the rest of our people, were in a ship which remained inside; I was alone, outside, upon that dangerous coast, suffering from a severe fever and worn with fatigue. All hope of escape was gone. I toiled up to the highest part of the ship, and, with a quivering voice and fast-falling tears, I called upon your Highnesses' war captains from each point of the compass to come to my succor, but there was no reply. At length, groaning with exhaustion, I fell asleep, and heard a compassionate voice address me thus: "O fool, and slow to believe and to serve thy God, the God of all! what did He do more for Moses, or for David His servant, than He has done for thee? From thine infancy He has kept thee under His constant and watchful care. When He saw thee arrived at an age which suited His designs respecting thee, He brought wonderful renown to thy name throughout all the land. He gave thee for thine own the

Indies, which form so rich a portion of the world, and thou hast divided them as it pleased thee, for He gave thee power to do so. He gave thee also the keys of those barriers of the ocean sea which were closed with such mighty chains; and thou wast obeyed through many lands, and hast gained an honorable fame throughout Christendom. What did the Most High do for the people of Israel, when He brought them out of Egypt? or for David, whom from a shepherd He made to be king in Judæa? Turn to Him, and acknowledge thine error—His mercy is infinite. Thine old age shall not prevent thee from accomplishing any great undertaking. He holds under His sway the greatest possessions. Abraham had exceeded a hundred years of age when he begat Isaac; nor was Sarah young. Thou criest out for uncertain help: answer, who has afflicted thee so much and so often, God, or the world? . . . Even now He partially shows thee the reward of so many toils and dangers incurred by thee in the service of others. . . ."

I departed, in the name of the Holy Trinity, on Easter night, with the ships rotten, worm-eaten, and full of holes. One of them I left at Belem, with a supply of necessaries; I did the same at Belpuerto. I then had only two left, and they in the same state as the others. I was without boats or provisions, and in this condition I had to cross seven thousand miles of sea; or, as an alternative, to die on the passage with my son, my brother, and so many of my people. Let those who are in the habit of finding fault and censuring, ask, while they sit in security at home: "Why did you not do so and so under such circumstances?" I wish they now had this voyage to make. I verily believe that another journey of another kind awaits them, if there is any reliance to be placed upon our holy faith.

On the thirteenth of May I reached the province of Mango, which is contiguous to that of Cathay, and thence I started for the island of Española. I sailed two days with a good wind, after which it became contrary. The route that I followed called forth all my care to avoid the numerous

islands, that I might not be stranded on the shoals that lie in their neighborhood. . . . After eight days I put to sea again, and reached Jamaica by the end of June; but always beating against contrary winds, and with the ships in the worst possible condition. With three pumps, and the use of pots and kettles, we could scarcely with all hands clear the water that came into the ship, there being no remedy but this for the mischief done by the ship-worm. . . .

This is the account I have to give of my voyage. The men who accompanied me were a hundred and fifty in number, among whom were many calculated for pilots and good sailors, but none of them can explain whither I went nor whence I came. The reason is very simple. I started from a point above the port of Brazil; and while I was in Española, the storm prevented me from following my intended route, for I was obliged to go wherever the wind drove me; at the same time I fell very sick, and there was no one who had navigated in these parts before. However, after some days, the wind and sea became tranquil, and the storm was succeeded by a calm, but accompanied with rapid currents. I put into harbor at an island called Isla de las Bocas, and then steered for *terra firma;* but it is impossible to give a correct account of all our movements, because I was carried away by the current so many days without seeing land. I ascertained, however, by the compass and by observation, that I moved parallel with the coast of *terra firma.* No one could tell under what part of the heavens we were, nor at what period I bent my course for the island of Española. The pilots thought we had come to the island of St. John, whereas it was the land of Mango, four hundred leagues to the westward of where they said. Let them answer and say if they know where Veragua is situated. I assert that they can give no other account than that they went to lands where there was an abundance of gold, and this they can certify surely enough; but they do not know the way to return thither for such a purpose; they would be obliged to go on a voyage of discovery as

much as if they had never been there before. . . . The nation of which Pope Pius writes has now been found, judging at least by the situation and other evidences, excepting the horses with the saddles and poitrels and bridles of gold; but this is not to be wondered at, for the lands on the seacoast are only inhabited by fishermen, and moreover I made no stay there, because I was in haste to proceed on my voyage. . . .

They say that there are great mines of copper in the country, of which they make hatchets and other elaborate articles, both cast and soldered; they also make of it forges, with all the apparatus of the goldsmith, and crucibles. The inhabitants go clothed; and in that province I saw some large sheets of cotton very elaborately and cleverly worked, and others very delicately pencilled in colors. They told me that more inland toward Cathay they have them interwoven with gold. . . . When I discovered the Indies, I said that they composed the richest lordship in the world; I spoke of gold and pearls and precious stones, of spices, and the traffic that might be carried on in them; and because all these things were not forthcoming at once I was abused. This punishment causes me to refrain from relating anything but what the natives tell me. One thing I can venture upon stating, because there are so many witnesses of it, viz., that in this land of Veragua I saw more signs of gold in the first two days than I saw in Española during four years, and that there is not a more fertile or better cultivated country in all the world, nor one whose inhabitants are more timid; . . . moreover, the road hither will be as short as that to Española, because there is a certainty of a fair wind for the passage. Your Highnesses are as much lords of this country as of Xeres or Toledo, and your ships that may come here will do so with the same freedom as if they were going to your own royal palace. From hence they will obtain gold, and whereas if they should wish to become masters of the products of other lands, they will have to take them by force, or retire

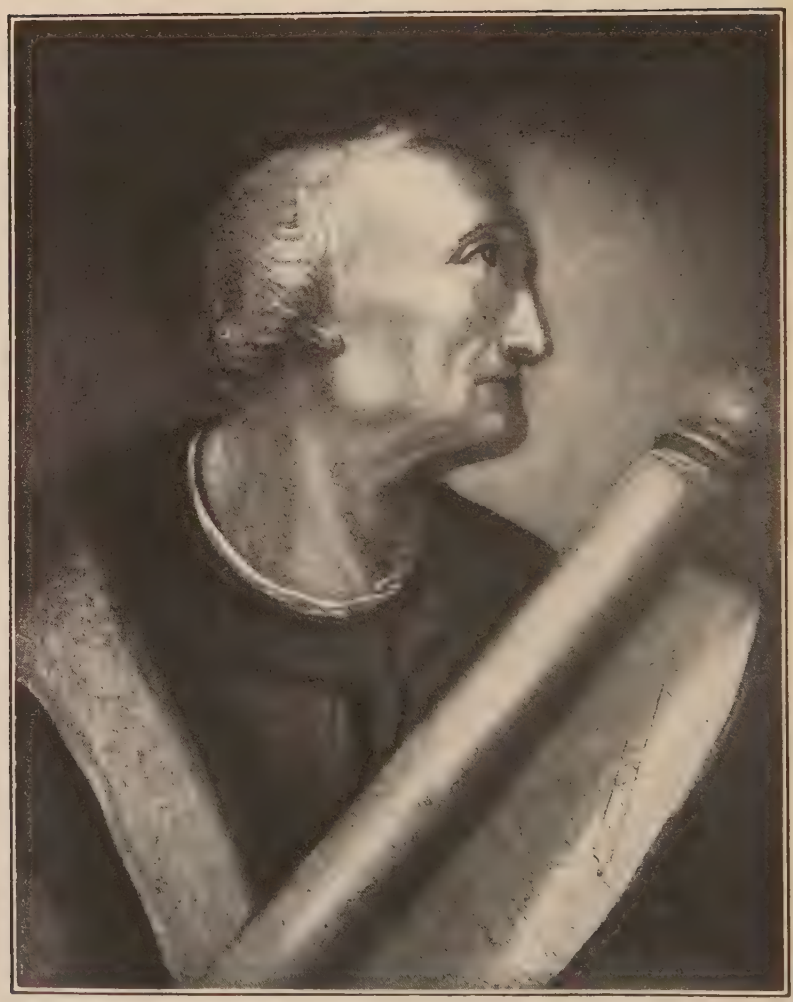
empty-handed, in this country they will simply have to trust their persons in the hands of a savage. . . .

There were brought to Solomon at one journey six hundred and sixty-six quintals of gold, besides what the merchants and sailors brought, and that which was paid in Arabia. . . . Josephus thinks that this gold was found in the Aurea; if it were so, I contend that these mines of the Aurea are identical with those of Veragua, which, as I have said before, extends westward twenty days' journey, at an equal distance from the Pole and the Line. . . . With respect to the gold which belongs to Quibian, the cacique of Veragua, and other chiefs in the neighboring country, although it appears by the accounts we have received of it to be very abundant, I do not think it would be well or desirable, on the part of your Highnesses, to take possession of it in the way of plunder; by fair dealing, scandal and disrepute will be avoided, and all the gold will thus reach your Highnesses' treasury without the loss of a grain. . . .

I never think of Española, and Paria, and the other countries, without shedding tears. . . . It used to be the custom to give thanks and promotion to him who placed his person in jeopardy; but there is no justice in allowing the man who opposed this undertaking to enjoy the fruits of it with his children. Those who left the Indies, avoiding the toils consequent upon the enterprise, and speaking evil of it and me, have since returned with official appointments,—such is the case now in Veragua: it is an evil example, and profitless both as regards the business in which we are embarked, and as respects the general maintenance of justice. The fear of this, with other sufficient considerations, which I clearly foresaw, caused me to beg your Highnesses, previously to my coming to discover these islands and *terra firma*, to grant me permission to govern it in your royal name. Your Highnesses granted my request; and it was a privilege and treaty granted under the royal seal and oath, by which I was nominated viceroy, and

admiral, and governor-general of all: and your Highnesses limited the extent of my government to a hundred leagues beyond the Azores and Cape Verd Islands, by a line passing from one pole to the other, and gave me ample power over all that I might discover beyond this line; all of which is more fully described in the official document. . . .

For seven years was I at your royal court, where every one to whom the enterprise was mentioned treated it as ridiculous; but now there is not a man, down to the very tailors, who does not beg to be allowed to become a discoverer. There is reason to believe that they make the voyage only for plunder, and that they are permitted to do so, to the great disparagement of my honor and the detriment of the undertaking itself. . . . The restitution of my honor, the reparation of my losses, and the punishment of those who have inflicted them, will redound to the honor of your royal character; a similar punishment also is due to those who plundered me of my pearls, and who have brought a disparagement upon the privileges of my admiralty. Great and unexampled will be the glory and fame of your Highnesses, if you do this, and the memory of your Highnesses, as just and grateful sovereigns, will survive as a bright example to Spain in future ages. The honest devotedness I have always shown to your Majesties' service, and the so unmerited outrage with which it has been repaid, will not allow my soul to keep silence, however much I may wish it: I implore your Highnesses to forgive my complaints. I am indeed in as ruined a condition as I have related; hitherto I have wept over others;—may Heaven now have mercy upon me, and may the earth weep for me! With regard to temporal things, I have not even a *blanca* for an offering; and in spiritual things, I have ceased here in the Indies from observing the prescribed forms of religion. Solitary in my trouble, sick and in daily expectation of death, surrounded by millions of hostile savages full of cruelty, and thus separated from the blessed sacraments of our Holy Church, how will my soul



Amerigo Vespucci.

From the copy of the painting by Bronzino, now in possession of the Historical Society of Massachusetts.

be forgotten if it be separated from the body in this foreign land? Weep for me, whoever has charity, truth, and justice! I did not come out on this voyage to gain to myself honor or wealth; this is a certain fact, for at that time all hope of such a thing was dead. I do not lie when I say that I went to your Highnesses with honest purpose of heart, and sincere zeal in your cause. I humbly beseech your Highnesses, that if it please God to rescue me from this place, you will graciously sanction my pilgrimage to Rome and other holy places. May the Holy Trinity protect your Highnesses' lives, and add to the prosperity of your exalted position!

Done in the Indies, in the island of Jamaica, on the seventh of July, in the year one thousand five hundred and three.

On September 12, 1504, Columbus set sail again for Spain, which he reached on the 7th of November. His voyages were ended. He was now an old man, broken down in health, and utterly disappointed. His remaining strength during the next two years was exhausted in the fruitless endeavor to gain from the calloused and faithless Ferdinand a reinstatement in those rights and dignities which were his due. The king was willing to grant him estates and titles in Spain, but Columbus insisted that the recognition of his great service should be in the form of that hereditary viceroyalty over the Indies for which he had expressly stipulated as the recompense and reward of the immense service he had rendered to Spain and the world; but to the restoration of this dignity Ferdinand would not consent. Columbus's influence had been weakened, his enemies had discredited him, his friends had abandoned him, and on the 20th of May, 1506, at Valladolid, the great discoverer died, a worn-out and heart-broken man.

CHAPTER VIII

AMERIGO VESPUCCI AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE CONTINENT

Although Columbus had sighted the mainland of America on his third voyage, in 1498, his predetermined theories and his belief in the possibility of reaching the kingdom of the Great Khan by the pursuit of his plan prevented his realizing the possibilities that were within his grasp as the result of that glimpse of the continent obtained while coasting about the isle of Trinidad. What had resulted from his voyages in the way of definite knowledge of the existence and position of the New World—incomplete as that knowledge was, and misunderstood as was its actual relation to the objects of the discoverer—had quickened the life of European nations and given a new direction and impetus to their energies and enterprise in its promise of enlarged empire and unlimited commercial development.

We have seen in Columbus's description of his third voyage that other explorers were actively seeking to extend the field of discovery; moreover, a basis was being provided whereon claims of priority in the discovery of the New World were afterward to assume a controversial form. The most interesting of these, because of the fact that the name of the New World continent is involved therein, is that of Amerigo Vespucci. Was Vespucci, in addition to having received the honor of giving his name to the New World, also justly entitled to the glory of being the first European to discover the mainland of America? This is

one of those enigmas of history which are the cause of endless discussion and in regard to which contending writers, though evidently satisfied with their opposing conclusions, still leave the impartial reader in the dark. The sources of the contention in this instance are these: Vespucci wrote a letter describing a voyage which he claims to have made in 1497, but of which there is no corroborative evidence; on the contrary, Las Casas, a contemporary and a trustworthy historian, says that Vespucci did not make such a voyage. Out of this has grown the controversy which as yet shows no indication of being conclusively decided, and which is likely to remain an unsolved problem.

In order to give this subject its due attention, it is necessary to acquaint ourselves with the facts of the life of the man whose name has been given to the western continent. Amerigo Vespucci was born March 9, 1451, being the son of a notary at Florence named Ser Nastagio Vespucci. His uncle, Fra Giorgio Antonio Vespucci, a Dominican monk, was intrusted with the education of the young Amerigo, and, among other things, taught him the Latin that he showed such a fondness for airing in his *Letters*. At that time the Medici owned the principal commercial interest in Florence, and Amerigo Vespucci, having decided on a mercantile career, found a position in this house. There are many letters extant which were addressed to him on business matters, all of which indicate that from 1483 to 1491 he lived in Florence and was absorbed in his commercial pursuits. In 1492, he was sent by the house of Medici to represent their interest at Seville. In 1495, an Italian merchant named Juanoto Barardi undertook to supply the Spanish government with twelve vessels for an expedition to the Indies; but dying before his contract was fulfilled, Vespucci was employed to settle his affairs. Thus he became engaged in the business of supplying and outfitting vessels for voyages of exploration. Soon after this we find him in business at Cadiz as a contractor for provisions. Muñoz claimed to have discovered entries which

proved that Vespucci continued in this occupation until May, 1498, a year after the time when the latter, according to his own testimony, had set out for the Indies.

As we have already seen, Columbus landed at Trinidad and sighted the mainland of South America on the 31st of July, 1498. There he found an abundance of pearls, and sent home five ships carrying news of this welcome discovery and also a chart by which the government might know the way thither. This information was received by Fonseca, the Superintendent of Affairs in the Indies, who, being an enemy of Columbus, was quite willing to rob the admiral of the advantage of his find by despatching other explorers to the newly discovered land. This unfair measure was made possible in consequence of an act of equal injustice done by Ferdinand, who, contrary to the express stipulation made with Columbus, permitted free navigation to the Indies. Fonseca found a willing tool in Alonso de Hojeda, the daring but unprincipled seaman who had been with Columbus on his second voyage, but who, with others, had become disloyal to the great explorer, and on his return home had joined the party of Fonseca. He was now induced by the glittering prospects at Paria to organize and head an expedition himself. In order to obtain funds, it was necessary for him to enlist the capital of men in Spain who were willing to speculate in such ventures. In this way, Vespucci was brought into connection with Hojeda, and probably assisted in equipping the four vessels which formed the expedition with which he sailed. All this, as we shall see later, is proved by Las Casas, who, as an authority, must be preferred to Vespucci, seeing that he is aided by corroborative evidence, of which support the Florentine is very noticeably destitute. Las Casas surmises that Hojeda took Vespucci with him in the capacity of pilot—a not unnatural inference, in view of the latter's subsequent appointment by Ferdinand.

On what ground Vespucci acquired the title and standing of a pilot is one of the features of this enigma. That

he studied cosmography and theoretical astronomy while engaged in his mercantile pursuits is evident from his writings, but the duties of a pilot in those days peremptorily demanded a practical acquaintance with navigation. On returning from his voyage with Hojeda, Vespucci, apparently having given up his mercantile business, became a resident of Seville. Shortly afterward, if we accept his own statement, he received a message from the King of Portugal inviting him to come to Lisbon; and in the service of the Portuguese he undertook two voyages to the coast of Brazil. But trace of his appointment to any office or position by the Portuguese government cannot be found among the archives of that nation. While in Lisbon, Vespucci wrote a letter to Pietro Soderini, Gonfalonier of the republic of Florence, giving an account of the four voyages which he claims to have undertaken. Soon after this he returned to Spain, and in August, 1508, was appointed to the office of chief pilot of that nation, with a salary of seventy-five thousand maravedies a year. He was required to prepare the *Padron Real*, a standard chart, from which all other charts were to be copied; also, to instruct and examine all pilots.

We will now turn to Vespucci's *Letters*. In his account of his first voyage he declares that he was selected by Ferdinand to accompany four ships which were despatched on an expedition of discovery. They sailed from Cadiz on the 10th of May, 1497, going first to Grand Canary. From thence, sailing on a west-southwest course for thirty-seven days, they made the coast of the mainland in latitude 16° N. and longitude from Canary 70° W. Here they found an Indian village, "like a little Venice," built on logs over the water. From thence they proceeded eighty leagues along the coast to a province that is called in the Italian version of the letter "Lariab," and in the Latin, "Parias." Leaving this place, he says: "We departed from this port. The province is called Parias, and we navigated along the coast, always in sight of land, until we had run along

it a distance of eight hundred and seventy leagues, always towards the northwest, making many tacks and treating with many tribes. In many places we discovered gold, though not in any great quantity, but we did much in discovering the land, and in ascertaining that there was gold. We had now been thirteen months on the voyage, and the ships and gear were much worn, and the men tired. We resolved, after consultation, to beach the ships and heave them down, as they were making much water, and to caulk them afresh, before shaping a course for Spain. When we made this decision we were near the finest harbor in the world, which we entered with our ships. Here we found a great many people, who received us in a very friendly manner. On shore we made a bastion with our boats, and with casks and our guns, at which we all rejoiced. Here we lightened and cleared our ships, and hauled them up, making all the repairs that were necessary, the people of the country giving us all manner of help, and regularly supplying us with provisions. For in that port we had little relish for our own, which we made fun of, for our provisions for the voyage were running short, and were bad. . . ." In return for this good treatment by the natives, the Spaniards agreed to punish the enemies of the latter—a savage people living on an island "one hundred leagues out at sea.

"Our ships having been repaired, we navigated for seven days across the sea, with the wind between the northeast and east, and at the end of the seven days we came upon the islands, which were numerous, some inhabited and others deserted. We anchored off one of them, where we saw many people, who called it Iti. Having manned our boats with good men, and placed three rounds of the lombard in each, we pulled to the shore, where we found four hundred men and many women, all naked. They were well made, and seemed good fighting men, for they were armed with bows and arrows, and lances. The greater part of them also had square shields, and they carried them so that they

should not impede their using the bow. As we approached the shore in the boats, at the distance of a bowshot, they all rushed into the water to shoot their arrows, and to defend themselves from us they returned to the land. They all had their bodies painted with different colors, and were adorned with feathers. The interpreters told us that when they showed themselves plumed and painted, it is a sign that they intend to fight. . . . The men landed with their arms, and the natives came against us, and fought us for nearly an hour, gaining little advantage, except that our crossbowmen and gunners killed some of the natives, while they wounded some of our people. They would not wait for the thrust of our spears or swords; but we pushed on with such vigor at last that we came within sword thrust, and as they could not withstand our arms, they fled to the hills and woods, leaving us victorious on the field, with many of their dead and wounded. . . .

"Next day we saw a great number of the people on shore, still with signs of war, sounding horns and various other instruments used by them for defiance, and all plumed and painted, so that it was a very strange thing to behold them. . . . They did not oppose our landing, I believe from fear of the guns. Forty of our men landed in four detachments, each with a captain, and attacked them. After a long battle, many of them being killed, the rest were put to flight. We followed in pursuit until we came to a village, having taken nearly two hundred and fifty prisoners. We burnt the village and returned to the ships with these two hundred and fifty prisoners, leaving many killed and wounded. On our side no more than one was killed and twenty-two were wounded, who all recovered. God be thanked! We prepared to depart, and then seven men, five of whom were wounded, took a canoe belonging to the island, and with seven prisoners that we gave them, four women and three men, they returned to their land with much joy, astonished at our power. We made sail for Spain with two hundred and twenty-two

prisoners, our slaves, and arrived in the port of Cadiz on the 15th of October, 1498, where we were well received, and where we sold our slaves."—(*First Letter of Amerigo Vespucci.*)

If Vespucci really made the voyage which he describes in this letter as being his first, he can justly lay claim to the glory of not only having been the first to reach the mainland, but of having explored the coast from Veragua on the Isthmus of Darien to Chesapeake Bay, the latter being that "finest harbor in the world" where he remained thirty-seven days. But there are substantial evidences which seem to refute this claim.

In the first place, it is important to prove that the second voyage which, according to his own account, Vespucci took was identical with that of Hojeda. This cannot be shown by any credit given or reference made to the latter by Vespucci; for it is an extremely singular fact that in none of the accounts of his four voyages does he make any mention by name of shipmates, commanding or serving. But that he did sail with Hojeda is made abundantly plain by the latter's testimony which he gave in a lawsuit which, some years afterward, Diego Columbus brought against the Crown to recover the governorship of the Indies, which had been promised to the heirs of Columbus in perpetuity. Inasmuch as no defence could have been more effective for the Crown than to prove that Columbus had precursors in his discovery of the continent, and yet not one was forthcoming, this is good evidence that the exploits of Vespucci, as narrated in his first letter, were unknown in Spain. Indeed, as is seen in the subjoined quotation from his testimony respecting his voyage of 1499–1500, Hojeda plainly testifies that, previous to his own voyage, no one had touched at any point on the coast in question.

"*Alonso de Hojeda* gave evidence that the true reply to the question is that this witness is the said Hojeda, who was the first man that went to make discoveries after the said

Admiral, and that he discovered the mainland to the south and coasted it for nearly two hundred leagues to Paria, and went out by the 'Boca del Drago,' and there he knew that the Admiral had been at the island of Trinidad, near the mainland as far as the Gulf of Pearls and the island of Margarita, where he landed, because he knew that the Admiral had only sighted it, and thence he proceeded to discover all the coast of the mainland from 'Los Frayles' to the 'Isla de los Gigantes,' the Gulf of Venecia, which is on the mainland, and the provinces of Quinquilacoa. On all that land, from two hundred leagues beyond Paria, and from Paria to the Pearls, and from the Pearls to Quinquilacoa, which this witness discovered, no one else had discovered or touched at, neither the Admiral nor any other person, and in this voyage, the said witness took with him Juan de la Cosa and Morigo Vespuche, and other pilots, and this witness was despatched for this voyage by order of the said Don Juan de Fonseca, Bishop of Palencia, by order of their Highnesses."

Of Hojeda's voyages we have no account written by himself, and therefore can only determine what was the precise part he played by such mentions and references as are to be found in contemporary documents. Among historians who by scholarly and exhaustive research have tested the possibilities of these documents and State papers, Navarrete (born in 1765, died in 1844) is the recognized leader; at present we are in possession of nothing more trustworthy on this subject than his conclusions. The following extract from his work describes the voyage of Hojeda, 1499–1500, and its results:

"In December, 1498, the news arrived of the discovery of Paria. The splendid ideas of the discoverer touching the beauty and wealth of that region were presently made known, and the spirit of maritime enterprise was revived with renewed vigor. Some of those who had sailed with

the Admiral, and had benefited by his instruction and example, solicited and obtained from the Court licences to discover, at their own proper cost, the regions beyond what was already known, paying into the Treasury a fourth or fifth part of what they acquired.

"The first who adventured was Alonso de Hojeda, a native of Cuenca. Owing to his energy and the favor of the Bishop Don Rodriguez de Fonseca, he soon collected the funds and the crews necessary for the equipment of four vessels in the port of Santa Maria, where Juan de la Cosa resided, a great mariner according to popular ideas, and not inferior to the Admiral himself in his own conceit. He had been a shipmate and pupil of the Admiral in the expedition to Cuba and Jamaica. This man was the principal pilot of Hojeda. They also engaged others who had been in the Paria voyage. Among the other sharers in the enterprise, the Florentine Americo Vespucci merits special mention. . . .

"With such useful companions Hojeda put to sea on the 18th or the 20th of May, 1499. They touched at the Canaries, where they took in such supplies as they needed, and entered on the ocean voyage from Gomera, following the route of the last voyage of the Admiral, for Hojeda was in possession of the marine chart which Columbus had drawn. At the end of twenty-four days they came in sight of the continent of the New World, further south than the point reached by the Admiral, and apparently on the coast of Surinam. They sailed along in sight of the coast for nearly two hundred leagues, from the neighborhood of the equator to the Gulf of Paria, without landing. In passing, besides other rivers, they saw two very large ones which made the sea water to be fresh for a long distance, one coming from south to north, which should be the river now called Essequibo in Dutch Guiana, and which was for some time called the Rio Dulce. The course of the other was from west to east, and may have been the Orinoco, the waters of which flow for many leagues into the sea without

mixing with the salt water. The land on the coast was, generally, low and covered with very dense forest. The currents were exceedingly strong towards the N. E., following the general direction of the coast.

"The first inhabited land seen by our navigators was the island of Trinidad, on the south coast of which they saw a crowd of astonished people watching them from the shore. They landed at three different places with the launches well provisioned, and twenty-two well-armed men. The natives were Caribs, or Cannibals, of fine presence and stature, of great vigor, and very expert in the use of bows and arrows, and shields, which were their proper arms. Although they showed some reluctance to come near the Spaniards at first, they were very soon satisfied of the friendly intentions of the strangers, and bartered with them amicably. Thence they entered the Gulf of Paria, and anchored near the river Guarapiche, where they also saw a populous village of peaceful Indians near the shore. They opened communications with the inhabitants, and, among other presents, received from them a kind of cider made of fruits, as well as some fruit like *mirabolans*, of exquisite flavor, and here some pearls were obtained. They saw parrots of various colors; and they parted company with these people on friendly terms. Hojeda says that they found traces of the Admiral's having been in the island of Trinidad, near the Dragon's Mouth, which circumstance was carefully omitted by Vespucci.

"Having passed the mouth of the terrible strait, Hojeda continued his discovery along the coast of the mainland as far as the Gulf of Pearls or Curiana, visiting and landing on the island of Margarita, which is in front, as he knew that Columbus had only sighted it in passing. In passing he noticed the islets called Los Frailes, which are nine miles to the east, and north of Margarita, and the rock Centinela. Thence he stood in shore by the cape Isleos (now called Codera), anchoring in the road which he called Aldea Vencida. He continued to coast along from port to port, according to the expression of the pilot Morales, until he reached

the Puerto Flechado (now Chichirivichi), where he seems to have had some encounter with the Indians, who wounded twenty-one of his men, of whom one died, as soon as he was brought to be cured, in one of the coves that are between that port and the Vela de Coro, where they remained twenty days. From this place they shaped a course for the island of Curaçoa, which they called Isla de los Gigantes, where Americo supposed there was a race of uncommon stature. Perhaps he did not understand the expressions of horror with which the natives referred to the Caribs, and this sufficed to make Vespucci assert that he had seen Pontasiloas and Antæus. They then crossed to a land which they judged to be an island, distant ten leagues from Curaçoa, and saw the cape forming a peninsula, which they named San Roman, probably because it was discovered on the 9th of August, on which the feast of that saint is kept. Having rounded the cape, they entered a great gulf, on the eastern side of which, where it is shallow and clear of rocks, they saw a great village, with the houses built over the water, on piles driven into the bottom, and the people communicated from one to the other in canoes. Hojeda named it the Gulf of Venice, from its similarity to that famous city of Italy. The Indians called it the Gulf of Coquibacoa, and we know it now as the Gulf of Venezuela. They explored the interior, and discovered, as it would seem, on the 24th of August, the lake and port of San Bartolome, now the lake of Maracaibo, where they obtained some Indian women of notable beauty and disposition. It is certain that the natives of this country had the fame of being more beautiful and gracious than those of any other part of that continent. Having explored the western part of the gulf, and doubled the Cape of Coquibacoa, Hojeda and his companions examined the coast as far as the Cabo de la Vela, the extreme point reached in this voyage. On the 30th of August they turned on their homeward voyage for Española or Santo Domingo, and entered the port of Yaquimo on the 5th of September, 1499, with the intention

of loading with brasil wood, according to what Don Fernando Columbus says.

"Here Hojeda had those disputes with Roldan which are referred to by our historians, but, finally, with leave from that chief, Hojeda removed his ships to Surana, in February, 1500. According to Vespucci, in his letter to Medici, they navigated from Española in a northerly direction for two hundred leagues, discovering more than a thousand islands, most of them inhabited, which would probably be the Lucayos, although those are not nearly so numerous. On one of these he says that they violently seized two hundred and thirty-two persons for slaves, and that from thence they returned to Spain by the islands of the Azores, Canary, and Madeira, arriving in the Bay of Cadiz in the middle of June, 1500, where they sold many of the two hundred slaves that arrived, the rest having died on the voyage. The truth of these events is not very certain, but it is certain that the profit of the expedition was very small. According to the same Vespucci, deducting costs, not more than five hundred ducats remained to divide among fifty-five shareholders, and this when, besides the price of the slaves, they brought home a quantity of pearls worthy of a place in the royal treasury, of gold and some precious stones, but not many, for, imitating badly the acts of the Admiral, the desire to push on for discovery was greater than that for the acquisition of riches."—(From Navarrete, *Colección de los viajes*, etc., iii, 3–11.)

A careful reading and comparison of this with Vespucci's first and second letters will not only show that Hojeda's voyage and that which Vespucci represents as his second were identical, but that some things which the latter put down in the account of his alleged first voyage really happened in this expedition in which he accompanied Hojeda. Roldan, who was sent by Columbus to watch Hojeda's operations in Hispaniola, wrote a letter giving an account of how the latter had a hostile encounter with the natives in

which one Spaniard was killed and about twenty wounded. This Vespucci inserts in his narrative of his first voyage. He also describes in the same letter the village which Hojeda discovered and named Gulf of Venice.

We have, moreover, a trustworthy contemporary witness against Vespucci. Upon Las Casas, more than any other writer of his time, we depend for our knowledge of the first Spanish voyages. While he was a zealous advocate of the rights of the Indians and blamed Columbus for much of the evil which fell upon the unfortunate natives of the Indies, he is yet anxious that the admiral should receive his due meed of praise for his discoveries. If Vespucci really undertook in 1497 a voyage to the western continent at the command of King Ferdinand, it is absolutely inexplicable why Las Casas did not come to know of it. On the other hand, if Las Casas knew of such a voyage, it is entirely incredible that he should deny it, yet he constitutes himself a zealous and indeed indignant opponent of Vespucci's claim, for he writes:

"It is manifest that the Admiral Don Cristobal Colon was the first by whom Divine Providence ordained that this our great continent should be discovered, and chose him for the instrument through which all these hitherto unknown Indies should be shown to the world. He saw it on Wednesday, the 1st of August, one day after he discovered the island of Trinidad, in the year of our salvation, 1498. He gave it the name of Isla Santa, believing that it was an island. He then began to enter the Gulf of La Ballena, by the entrance called the Mouth of the Serpent by him, finding all the water fresh, and it is this entrance which forms the island of Trinidad, separating it from the mainland called Santa. On the following Friday, being the 3d of August, he discovered the point of Paria, which he also believed to be an island, giving it the name of Gracia. But all was mainland, as in due time appeared, and still more clearly now is it known that here there is an immense continent.

"It is well here to consider the injury and injustice which that Americo Vespucci appears to have done to the Admiral, or that those have done who published his *Four Navigations*, in attributing the discovery of this continent to himself, without mentioning anyone but himself. Owing to this, all the foreigners who write of these Indies in Latin, or in their own mother tongue, or who make charts or maps, call the continent America, as having been first discovered by Americo.

"For as Americo was a Latinist, and eloquent, he knew how to make use of the first voyage he undertook, and to give the credit to himself, as if he had been the principal captain of it. He was only one of those who were with the captain, Alonso de Hojeda, either as a mariner, or because, as a trader, he had contributed towards the expenses of the expedition; but he secured notoriety by dedicating his *Navigations* to King René of Naples. Certainly these *Navigations* unjustly usurp from the Admiral the honor and privilege of having been the first who, by his labors, industry, and the sweat of his brow, gave to Spain and to the world a knowledge of this continent, as well as of all the Western Indies. Divine Providence reserved this honor and privilege for the Admiral Don Cristobal Colon, and for no other. For this reason no one can presume to usurp the credit, nor to give it to himself or to another, without wrong, injustice, and injury committed against the Admiral, and consequently without offence against God.

"In order that this truth may be made manifest, I will here relate truthfully, and impartially, the information on the subject which I possess. To understand the matter it is necessary to bear in mind that the Admiral left San Lucar, on his third voyage, on the 30th of May, 1498, and arrived at the Cape Verd Islands on the 27th of June. He sighted the island of Trinidad on Tuesday, the 31st of July, and soon afterwards, on Wednesday, the 1st of August, he saw the continent to the south of a strait two leagues wide,

Lettera di Amerigo vespucci delle isole nuouamente trouate in quattro suoi viaggi.

Title-page of the original account of the four voyages of Vespucius.
After the original in the collection of the late Bernard Quaritch.

between it and the island of Trinidad. He called this strait the Boca del Sierpe, and the mainland, believing it to be an island, he named Isla Sancta. Presently, on the following Friday, he sighted and discovered Paria, which he called Isla de Gracia, thinking that it also was an island. An account of all these discoveries, with a painted outline of the land, was sent by the Admiral to the Sovereigns.

"This being understood, we shall now see when Americo Vespucci set out, and with whom, to discover and trade in those parts. Those who may read this history must know that, at that time, Alonso de Hojeda was in Castille, when the account of the discovery and of the form of that land arrived, which was sent by the Admiral to the Sovereigns. This report and map came into the hands of the Bishop Don Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, afterwards Bishop of Palencia, who had charge of all business connected with the Indies from the beginning, and was then Archdeacon of Seville. The said Alonso de Hojeda was a great favorite of the bishop, and when the report of the Admiral and the map arrived, Fonseca suggested to Hojeda to go and make more discoveries in the same direction as the Admiral had taken. For when the thread is discovered and placed in the hand, it is an easy matter to reach the skein. Hojeda was aided by the information which the Admiral had collected from the Indians when he served in the first voyage, that there was a continent behind the lands and islands then reached. As he had the favor and good will of the bishop, he looked out for persons who would fit out some ships, for he himself had not sufficient funds. As he was known in Seville as a brave and distinguished man, he found, either there, or perhaps at the port of Santa Maria, whence he sailed, someone who enabled him to fit out four ships. The Sovereigns gave him his commission and instructions, and appointed him captain, for the discovery and purchase of gold and pearls, a fifth being reserved as the royal share, and to treat of peace and friendship with people he should meet with during the expedition.

"Thus the first who went to discover after the Admiral was no other than Alonso de Hojeda. Those whom he took, and wanted to take in this company, consisted of the sailors who were acquainted with the voyage to those lands, who were none others than those who had come and gone with the Admiral. Those were the principal mariners of the time. One of them was Juan de la Cosa, a Biscayan, who went with the Admiral when he discovered this island, and was afterwards with him in the Cuba and Jamaica discovery, the most laborious voyage up to that time. Hojeda also took with him the pilot Bartolome Roldan, who was well known in this city of San Domingo, and who built, from their foundations, a great number of the houses now standing in the four streets. He too had been with the Admiral in his first voyage, and also in the discovery of Paria and the mainland. Hojeda also took the said Americo, and I do not know whether as pilot, or as a man instructed in navigation and learned in cosmography. For it appears that Hojeda puts him among the pilots he took with him.

"I gather from the prologue he addressed to King René of Naples, in the book of his four *Navigations*, that the said Americo was a merchant, for so he confesses. Probably he contributed some money towards the expenses of fitting out the four ships, with the condition of receiving a proportionate share of the profits. Although Americo asserts that the King of Castille sent out the expedition, and that they went to discover by his order, this is not true. Three or four, or ten, persons combined, who were possessed of some money, and begged and even importuned the Sovereigns for permission to go and discover and search, with the object of promoting their own profits and interests. Thus Hojeda, owing to his having got possession of the chart which the Admiral had sent home of the mainland he had discovered, for the Sovereigns, and owing to his having with him the pilots and mariners who had been with the Admiral, came to discover the further part of the mainland.

"It is a thing well known, and established by many witnesses, that Americo went with Alonso de Hojeda, and that Hojeda went after the Admiral had discovered the mainland. It is also proved by Alonso de Hojeda himself. He was produced as a witness in favor of the Crown, when the Admiral Don Diego, next and legitimate successor of the Admiral Don Cristobal Colon, had a lawsuit with the Crown for all the estate of which his father had been dispossessed, as he was by the same cause. Alonso de Hojeda testified as follows, in his reply to the second question. He was asked 'if he knew that the Admiral Don Cristobal Colon had not discovered any part of what is now called the mainland, except when he once touched at the part called Paria?' The answer of Hojeda was that the Admiral touched at the island of Trinidad, and passed between that island and the Boca del Drago, which is Paria, and that he sighted the island of Margarita. Being asked how he knew this, he answered that he knew it because he, the witness, saw the chart which the said Admiral sent to Castille, to the King and Queen our Lords, of what he had discovered at that time: and also because he, the witness, soon afterwards went on his voyage of discovery, and found that the Admiral's account of what he had discovered was the truth. To the fifth question, which refers to what the same Hojeda discovered himself beyond Paria, he replied as follows: 'I was the first to go on an exploring expedition after the discovery of the Admiral, and I went first nearly two hundred leagues to the south on the mainland, and afterwards came to Paria, going out by the Boca del Drago. There I ascertained that the Admiral had been at the island of Trinidad, bordering on the Boca del Drago.' Further on he says: 'In the voyage which this witness undertook, he took with him Juan de la Cosa and Americo Vespucco, and other pilots.' Alonso de Hojeda says this, among other things, in his deposition and statement.

"Two things are thus proved by Hojeda himself. One is that he took Americo with him, and the other that he

undertook his voyage to the mainland, after it had been discovered by the Admiral. The latter fact is established beyond any doubt, namely, that the Admiral was the first who discovered Paria, and that he was there before any other Christian whatever was either there or on any other part of the mainland, or had any tidings of it. The Admiral Don Diego, his son, had proof of this from sixty hearsay witnesses and twenty-five eyewitnesses, as is seen by the records of the lawsuit, which I have not only seen but thoroughly examined. It was also proved that it was owing to the Admiral's having first discovered these islands of the Indies, and afterwards Paria, which is the mainland, before anyone else whatever, that the others had the courage to follow his example and become discoverers. It may be held for certain that no one would have undertaken to go on voyages of discovery, and that neither the Indies nor any part of them would have been made known if the Admiral had not led the way. This is proved by sixteen hearsay witnesses, by forty-one who believed it, by twenty who knew it, and by thirteen who gave evidence that in their belief the Admiral made his discoveries before anyone else whatever. Peter Martyr also gives the same testimony in the first *Decade*, chapters 8 and 9. This author deserves more credit than any of those who have written in Latin, because he was in Castille at the time, and knew all the explorers, and they were glad to tell him all they had seen and discovered, as a man in authority; and because he made his inquiries with a view to writing as we mentioned in the prologue of the history.

"Americo confesses in his first *Navigation* that he arrived at Paria during his first voyage, saying: 'Et provincia ipsa Parias ab ipsis nuncupata est.' Afterwards he made the second *Navigation*, also with Hojeda.

"Here it is important to note and make clear the error made by the world in general respecting America. What I say is this: As no one had arrived at or seen Paria before the Admiral, and as the next explorer who arrived was

Hojeda, it follows that either Americo was with Hojeda, or came after him. If he was with Hojeda, Hojeda was after the Admiral. The Admiral left San Lucar on the 30th of May, and came in sight of Trinidad and the mainland on the last day of July, and the 1st and 3rd of August, as has been proved. How, therefore, can Americo say, without a perversion of the truth, that he left Cadiz in his first *Navigation* on the 20th of May of the year of our salvation 1497? The falsehood is clear, and if the statement was made by him in earnest, he committed a great infamy. Even if it is not an intentional falsehood, it seems to be so; for he gives himself an advantage of ten days as regards the Admiral, with reference to the departure from Cadiz, for the Admiral left San Lucar on the 30th of May, and Americo alleges that he departed from Cadiz on the 20th of that month, and also usurps a year, for the Admiral sailed in 1498, while Americo pretends that he set out on his first *Navigation* in the year 1497. It is true that there would seem to be a mistake, and not an intentional fraud in this, for Americo says that his first *Navigation* occupied eighteen months, and at the end he asserts that the date of his return to Cadiz was the 15th of October, 1499. If he left Cadiz on the 20th of May, 1497, the voyage occupied twenty-nine months: seven in the year 1497, all the year 1498, and ten months in the year 1499. It is possible that 1499 may be a misprint for 1498 in treating of the return to Castille, and if this was so, there can be no doubt that the fraud was intentional. This fraud or mistake, whichever it may have been, and the power of writing and narrating well and in a good style, as well as Americo's silence respecting the name of his captain, which was Hojeda, and his care to mention no one but himself, and his dedication to King René,—these things have led foreign writers to name our mainland AMERICA, as if Americo alone, and not another with him, had made the discovery before all others. It is manifest what injustice he did if he intentionally usurped what belonged to another, namely to the

Admiral Don Cristobal Colon, and with what good reason this discovery and all its consequences should belong to the Admiral, after the goodness and providence of God, which chose him for this work. As it belongs more to him, the said continent ought to be called 'Columba,' after Colon, or Columbo, who discovered it, or else 'Sancta' or 'De Gracia,' the names he himself gave it, and not 'America,' after Americo."

The conclusions to which an impartial investigation leads one are as follows: Vespucci accompanied Hojeda in the voyage on which he started in May, 1499. His position was that of either merchant or pilot, possibly both. This voyage he describes in his second letter, but without giving the least credit to Hojeda as commander of the expedition, or to anyone save himself. After this experience in the western world, he was able to give an interesting account of an imaginary voyage which he claims to have made in 1497. It is impossible to find any motive for this fabrication other than a desire to appropriate to himself the honor of having been the first discoverer of the mainland. Both these accounts, moreover, are almost useless geographically, for they consist mainly of descriptions of the natives and their customs, and are exceedingly vague as to landmarks. In regard to the voyages claimed to have been made by the command of the King of Portugal, while it is possible that they were undertaken, yet, lacking corroborative evidence, their historical value is small. Vespucci, however, is not to be accused of being concerned in the injustice of having his name given to the newly discovered continent, save in so far as this was an accident resulting from his fraudulent account in his first letter.

The name "America" was first proposed by a schoolmaster of Alsace, named Waldseemüller. Translating this German name into the Greek *Hylacomylus*, he signed it to a geographical work which he published in 1507. In this he wrote: "And as these parts have been more widely

explored, and another fourth part has been discovered by Americus Vesputius, as may be perceived by the following letters, I do not see why anyone may justly forbid the calling of this part Amerige, that is, the land of Americus, from Americus the discoverer, a man of intelligence, since both Europe and Asia have taken their names from women."

This name was copied and speedily grew into general use, and thereby another injustice was added to the many wrongs suffered by Columbus; or if it be contended that the first commander to land on the continent should have received this honor, then Hojeda was entitled to it; or, again, it should have fallen to John Cabot, who discovered the mainland on June 24, 1497. Spain was not alone in the eager desire to extend her dominions and draw upon the resources which the westward discoveries promised. England was already in the field with the Cabots, and Portugal, who had pushed her explorations eastward, was also soon to turn her face to the west with the expeditions of the Cortereals, which with those of the Cabots next claim notice.

CHAPTER IX

DISCOVERIES OF THE CABOTS AND THE CORTEREALS IN NORTH AMERICA

The fame of Columbus's enterprise had fired the spirit of princes and adventurers in the maritime nations of Europe. If the actual results obtained by the admiral's discoveries fell short of his expectations and the hopes of his royal patrons, more than enough had been accomplished to rend the mist of ignorance that had so long hung over cosmographical science; and what was still more inciting, the actual existence of habitable and inhabited lands, full of promise of vast wealth, had been conclusively demonstrated, and such tangible evidences obtained of their richness that there was no longer room to doubt their possibilities for empire building and as fields for enterprise. Even through the casual and limited intercourse that Columbus had obtained with the natives he had secured gold, that most alluring inducement to European monarchs and adventurers. Moreover, there was proof of rich vegetable products, a glorious climate, fine harbors, commodious and practicable rivers—everything, in fact, to create visions of a New World worth mighty efforts to secure. The spirit of emulation was stirred, eager aspirants for fame and wealth were ready to follow in the path that Columbus had lighted. These now urged their plans of discovery and possession on more willing listeners than formerly; among them, the most noteworthy seeker of a western ocean course to the rich lands of the Orient was soliciting the patronage of the English

king; while another was urging at the court of Portugal a less ambitious project of western discovery, if not a less practical one.

Although the Pope had divided all prospective discoveries between the Kings of Spain and Portugal, it was not possible that England, under such a king as Henry VII., should long remain out of these western enterprises; it was in the reign of this monarch that the seeds were sown of that national spirit and policy which were eventually to ripen into English colonial and commercial supremacy. Of Henry, Bacon says that he was "a wonder for wise men." "In that part, both of justice and policy, which is the most durable part, and cut, as it were, in brass or marble, the making of good laws, he did excel." He enjoyed high prestige among the other rulers of Europe, and his opinions were regarded by them with as great respect as his actions were looked for with watchful interest. His policy was far-reaching, and his intimate acquaintance with the affairs of other governments frequently astonished the ambassadors and the foreigners who surrounded his court. He was a lover of learning and a patron—though not a generous one —of scholars. Above all, his mind was alert to the wisdom of encouraging geographical investigation and commercial adventure. For these reasons, the news of the discoveries by Columbus was not received anywhere with keener interest than at the court of Henry VII. Indeed, as we have seen, it was possibly only an accident which prevented the Genoese mariner from being sent out by Henry of England. If Bartholomew Columbus had not fallen among the pirates, it is possible that a message from the English court reaching Christopher Columbus at a time when his hope of patronage from Spain was at its lowest ebb might have resulted in Henry's taking the place of Ferdinand and Isabella.

In the fifteenth century, London welcomed foreigners, among whom were many Italians holding important offices at court; and the banking houses of Lombard Street, conducted

by men of this nationality, were the rendezvous of visitors from the different Italian republics. Among these men Messer Zoanne Caboto, the Venetian mariner, found many of his compatriots. For years he earnestly advocated an expedition in search of a northwest passage to India; but it was not until the news reached the court of Henry VII. that Christopher Columbus had indeed attained the lands of the Great Khan by a voyage across the western sea that John Cabot secured King Henry's permission to set out on such a voyage in behalf of England. The following is the form of the petition which was presented:

"To the kyng our souvereigne lord

"Please it your highnes of your moste noble and haboundant grace to graunt unto John Cabotto, citezen of Venes, Lewes, Sebestyan and Sancto his sonneys your gracious lettres patentes under your grete seale in due forme to be made according to the tenour hereafter ensuying. And they shall during their lyves pray to god for the prosperous continuance of your moste noble and royale astate long to enduer."

On this, Henry Harrisse, in his *Discovery of North America*, says: "We infer from the expression: 'according to the tenour hereafter ensuying' that a draft of the letters patent was added by the Cabots themselves to the petition, just as in certain pleadings American lawyers add the order or decree which they beg the judge to grant. In that case, the letters patent first published by Rymer, in 1741, set forth in the Cabots' own words their purpose and wishes, viz.: 'Upon their own proper costs and charges to seek out, discover, and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions, or provinces of the heathen or infidels, whatsoever they be, and in what part of the world soever they be, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians.'"

It was also stipulated that the petitioners, on their return from each and every voyage, should land at Bristol, and

that they should pay into the king's treasury one-fifth of all their gain; they and their heirs and assigns to have the exclusive right of voyaging to the countries discovered and trading with them. Seeing that Cabot and his sons were to provide all the cost of the expedition, it would seem as if it were a very small thing for the English king to grant such a petition. Nevertheless, when we consider the monopoly of gain secured to them in the lands they might discover, and the fact that such monopolies were held to be the exclusive right of the Crown, the fitting out of the expedition under such circumstances does not seem to illustrate so clearly the parsimony of the king.

The news of Cabot's undertaking was received at the court of Spain with great interest, especially in view of the exclusive grant which Ferdinand and Isabella had received from the Pope. In a letter to their ambassador in England, Gonzales de Pueblo, referring to his communication to them, they write:

"You say that a person like Colon has come there to place before the king of England another undertaking similar to that of the Indies, without prejudice to Spain or Portugal. If in this way he helps him, he will be as free to go to the Indies as we were. We believe that this undertaking is thrown in the way of the king of England by the king of France in order to withdraw him from his other affairs. See that the king of England be not deceived in this or in any similar matter. The French will endeavor as best they can to lead him into such enterprises, inasmuch as they are very uncertain, and are not easily prosecuted. . . . He is not able to undertake this thing without prejudice to us and the king of Portugal."

As to the identity of this "person like Colon," there is a peculiar passage in the despatch sent by Pedro de Ayala to their Spanish majesties from the court of Henry VII. on July 25, 1498, relating to the reception of the news of Columbus's discoveries: "For the last seven years, Bristol people had sent out every year, two, three, or four caravels

in search of the island of Brazil and the Seven Cities, according to the fancy of this Genoese." From other sources we learn that the Genoese referred to was none other than John Cabot, who was born in Genoa, but had become a citizen of Venice. From this it is to be inferred that from the year 1491, consequently before Columbus's first voyage, John Cabot, with the aid of Bristol shipowners, had been endeavoring to prosecute western discoveries. This indicates that if he had been successful in his attempts the honor of first discovering transatlantic lands would have fallen to England. It also shows how ripe and how generally received was the idea of sailing westward in order to reach known eastern countries. Cabot himself says that when in Mecca many years previous he had seen the caravans loaded with spices, and was told that they had come from afar, he had conceived the notion that the place of their origin was a land which could be quickest reached by the west.

The petition of the Cabots was granted by King Henry VII. on the 5th of March, 1496, but a year elapsed before they were able to secure their ships, man them, and equip them for the voyage. It was an undertaking in which, though many were interested, few were willing to adventure their persons or their means. Not until the spring of 1497 did Cabot set sail from the port of Bristol, and then only with two small vessels, although Harrisse, relying upon the second despatch sent by Raimondo di Soncino to the Duke of Milan, thinks that the expedition consisted originally of but one small vessel manned by eighteen men. Laying his course westward from Ireland, Cabot reached land on the 24th of June, 1497. He called the place of his landfall "First Land Seen," and a large island near by he named "St. John," it being discovered on that saint's day. Cabot, being fully imbued with the geographic idea of his time, made no question but that the country he had discovered was the much-looked-for Cathay. The following description of the voyage was written in a

letter by Lorenzo Pasqualigo, from London, on August 23, 1497, to his brothers in Venice:

"The Venetian, our countryman, who went with a ship from Bristol to search for a new island, is returned, and says that seven hundred leagues from here he discovered firm land (*terra firma*), the territory of the Grand Khan. He coasted for three hundred leagues and landed; saw no human beings, but he has brought here to the king certain snares which had been set to catch game, and a needle for making nets; he also found some felled trees, by which he judged there were inhabitants. He returned to his ship in doubt, and he was three months on the voyage, and on his return saw two islands to starboard, but would not land, time being precious, as he was short of provisions. This has greatly pleased the king. He (Caboto) says that the tides are slack there and do not flow as they do here.

"The king has promised him, in the spring, ten ships, armed to his order, and at his request has conceded him all the prisoners, except those confined for high treason, to man his fleet. The king has also given him money with which he may amuse himself until that time, and he is now in Bristol with his sons and his wife, who is also a Venetian. His name is Zuam Calbot and he is called the great admiral. Great honor is paid him; he dresses in silk, and these English run after him like insane people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he pleases, and a number of our own rogues besides.

"The discoverer of these places planted on this newly found land a large cross, with one flag of England, and another of Saint Mark, on account of his being a Venetian, so that our banner has floated very far afield."

A better and more lengthy description of the voyage is that given in a letter written to the Duke of Milan on the 18th of September by the above-mentioned Raimondo di Soncino:

"Perhaps, your excellency in the press of so much business will not be disturbed to learn that his majesty [King Henry VII.] has gained a part of Asia without a stroke of the sword. In this kingdom is a popular Venetian called Messer Zoanne Caboto, a man of considerable ability, most skilful in navigation, who, having seen the most serene kings, first him of Portugal, then him of Spain, that they had occupied unknown islands, thought to make a similar acquisition for his majesty [the King of England]. And having obtained the royal privileges which gave him the use of the land found by him, provided the right of possession was reserved to the Crown, he departed in a little ship, from the port of Bristol, in the western part of this kingdom, with eighteen persons who placed their fortunes with him. Passing Ibernia [Ireland] more to the west and then ascending toward the north, he began to navigate the eastern part of the ocean. Leaving (for some days) the north to the right hand, and having wandered enough, he came at last to firm land, where he planted the royal banner, took possession for his highness, made certain marks, and returned.

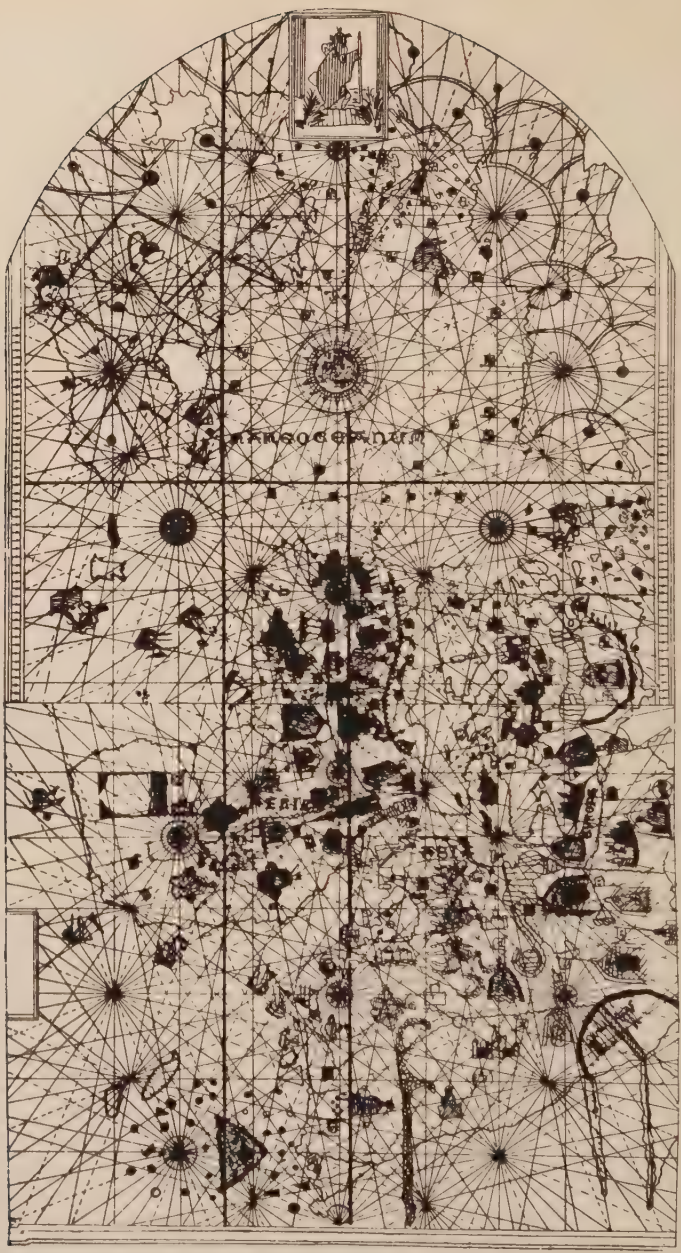
"The said Messer Zoanne, as he is a foreigner and poor, would not be believed, if his partners, who are all Englishmen and from Bristol, did not testify to the truth of what he tells. This Messer Zoanne has the representation of the world on a map, and also on a globe, which he has made, and he shows by them where he arrived, and going toward the east, has passed much of the country of the Tanais.

"And they say that the land is fertile and temperate, and think that red-wood grows there, and the silks, and they affirm that there the sea is full of fish that can be taken not only with nets, but with fishing-baskets, a stone being placed in the basket to sink it in the water, and this, I have said, is told by the said Messer Zoanne.

"And the said Englishmen, his partners, say that they can bring so many fish that this kingdom will have no more business with Islanda [Iceland], and that from that country

there will be a very great trade in the fish which they call stock-fish. But Messer Zoanne has his thoughts directed to a greater undertaking, for he thinks of going, after this place is occupied, along the coast farther toward the East until he is opposite the island called Cipango, situate in the equinoctial region, where he believes all the spices of the world grow, and where there are also gems. And he says that he was once at Mecca, where from remote countries spices are carried by caravans, and that those carrying them being asked where those spices grew, said they did not know, but that they came with other merchandise from remote countries to their home by other caravans, and that the same information was repeated by those who brought the spices in turn to them. And he argues that if the oriental people tell to those of the south that these things are brought from places remote from them, and thus from hand to hand, presupposing the rotundity of the earth, it follows that the last carry to the northern, toward the west. And he tells this in a way that makes it quite plain to me, and I believe it. And what is a greater thing, his majesty, who is learned and not prodigal, places confidence in what he says, and since his return, provides well for him, as this Messer Zoanne tells me.

"And in the spring he says that his majesty will arm some ships and will give him all the criminals, so that he may go to this country and plant a colony there. And in this way he hopes to make London a greater place for spices than Alexandria. And the principals of the business are citizens of Bristol, great mariners that now know where to go. They say that the voyage will not take more than fifteen days, if fortune favors them after leaving Ibernia. I have talked with a Burgundian, a companion of Messer Zoanne, who affirms the same, and who is willing to go, since the admiral, as Messer Zoanne is already styled, has given him an island, and has also given another to his barber, a Genoese, and they regard the two as counts, and my lord, the admiral, the chief. And I believe that some poor



Facsimile of the earliest known map showing any part of the New World. *After the unique MS. original, made by Juan de la Cosa in 1500.*

Italian friars will go on the voyage, who have the promise of being bishops. And I, being a friend of the admiral, if I wished to go, could have an archbishopric."

In regard to the extremely interesting question as to what was the precise locality of Cabot's first landfall the evidence is exceedingly meagre and vague, and from the slight details given us in regard to the course of sailing all that can be inferred is that it was somewhere north of 51° 15′ N. and south of 55° 15′ N., or, roughly speaking, between the northern part of Newfoundland and somewhere near the middle of the coast of Labrador. On the other hand, there are topographical details which might be applied to any part of the northern coast of America. The best-supported indications, however, seem to show that the land first sighted by Cabot was somewhere in the neighborhood of what is now known as Hamilton Inlet, on the coast of Labrador, and that he sailed thence north to Cape Chudly, and then back down the Labrador coast, across Belle Isle Strait, and along the east coast of Newfoundland to Cape Race.

Soon after his return, John Cabot petitioned the king to grant him letters patent for the fitting out of another expedition to more fully explore the lands that he had discovered. He had not to labor long in gaining this request; for all England stood in admiration of his former undertaking and its success; and Henry VII. was willing to enlarge his realm by whatever possibilities might lie across the Atlantic. The letters patent were issued February 3, 1498. On this occasion they were made out solely to John Cabot, his sons' names being omitted. It is important to notice this fact in view of the assertion that has often been made that the voyage was undertaken under the command of Sebastian Cabot. Another remarkable feature is the king's granting to Cabot all the criminals he needed to man his ships and to colonize the newly discovered lands. This measure was not adopted because it was impossible to find men enough who were willing to go, as was the case with Columbus's first

voyage; rather is it England availing herself, on her earliest possession of an opportunity to found a colony, of the chance afforded whereby she might be rid of undesirable citizens.

The precise date on which Cabot sailed on his second voyage is not ascertainable. But Pedro de Ayala, in his letter written from London to Ferdinand and Isabella, and dated July 25, 1498, says: "I think your Highnesses have already heard that the king of England has equipped a fleet in order to discover certain islands and firm land, which they have been told were discovered by certain persons of Bristol, who fitted out some ships during the past year for the same purpose. I have seen the map which the discoverer has made, who is another Genoese like Colon, and who has been in Seville and in Lisbon soliciting aid for this undertaking. . . . The king determined to send the fleet, because in the past year they brought certain news of having found land. The fleet consists of five ships that carried provisions for one year. The news has come that the vessel in which Friar Buil went has returned to Ireland in great distress, the ship being leaky. The Genoese has continued his voyage. I have seen the course he steered and the extent of it, and I think that what they have found, or what they are in search of, is what your Highnesses already possess, for it is the cape which was given to your Highnesses by the convention with Portugal. It is expected that they will return toward September. I write this because the king of England has spoken to me on the subject, and he thinks that your Highnesses will be greatly interested in it. I think the land is not farther distant than four hundred leagues. I told him that in my opinion the land was already in the possession of your Highnesses, and though I gave my reasons he did not like them. I believe that your Highnesses are already informed of this matter, and I do not now send the chart or map of the world which that man has made, for in my opinion it is false, since it makes it appear as if the land in question were not the said islands."

Nothing further is known of John Cabot; and it is most probably true that his work of exploration ended with this voyage. History gives no account of his death. It has been asserted that he did not even go on this second voyage, but Harrisse points out, and accumulates much evidence to support his contention, that Sebastian Cabot was not above arrogating to himself the honor that was due to his father; besides, as we have already seen, the letters patent were granted to John Cabot alone. The information gained from contemporary sources concerning the accomplishment of Sebastian is far from satisfactory. There seems to be evidence that in the year 1499 he sailed from Bristol with four or five ships, fitted out by the king and the merchants of London.—(Stow's *Chronicle of England.*) Nevertheless, Peter Martyr says that there were certain Spaniards who denied that Sebastian Cabot ever sailed westward. This, however, may have resulted from national jealousy over these newly discovered domains. Peter Martyr himself, who was a contemporary of Sebastian Cabot, believes that he did explore what was known as "the Bacallaos country" (so named from the codfish—*bacallaos*—with which the seas washing the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador abound). Martyr writes in his *De Orbe Novo Decades:*

"He fitted out two ships in England at his own expense, and with three hundred men steered toward the north, until in July he found vast icebergs floating in the sea and almost perpetual daylight, though on the land the snow and ice had melted. Therefore he was compelled to turn the sails, as he says, and to go toward the west, and yet he held to the south, the shore bending, that he almost reached the degree of the latitude of the strait of Hercules, and proceeded so far to the west that he may have had the island of Cuba on his left hand, being almost to its degree of longitude. Steering along this coast, which he called Bacallaos, he found, as he says, the currents of the sea running toward the west, but gently as those found by the Spaniards, navigating

in the southern waters. It is not only likely to be true, but it may be accepted as a fact, that between these regions [Bacallaos and the West Indies] there is a great space still unexplored that offers a way [to the East], where the water flows from east to west. These currents, I think, are made to flow round the earth by the impulsion of the heavens, and are not thrown up and swallowed again by Demorgorgon breathing. Perhaps they may be caused, as it is said, by influx and reflux.

"Cabotto himself called these regions Bacallaos (*Bacallaos Cabottus ipse terras illas appellavit*), because in the sea there he found great shoals of certain large fish resembling tunnies, which name was given them by the natives. These fish were so numerous that sometimes they retarded the progress of his ships. He found the people of these regions covered only with skins, but the natives were not wholly destitute of reason. He also relates that in these regions there is a great number of bears which eat fish. They plunge into the water where they see a shoal of fish and fasten their claws between the scales of the fish, and in this way convey them to the shore, where they devour them. The hunger of the bears being appeased, they do not annoy men. He declares further that in many places he saw copper [orichalcum] among the natives."

In this account, however, Peter Martyr is simply repeating what had been told him by Sebastian Cabot himself, and, as Harrisse shows, this navigator's statements about his own undertakings are not altogether trustworthy unless corroborated. Consequently, it is not certain whether the above account describes what was done and seen by the son or by the father, accompanied by Sebastian. Still, whether this exploration was commanded by John or Sebastian, it is well established that the Cabots extended the line of English discovery from Labrador, around the east coast of Newfoundland, by Nova Scotia, and down the American coast as far south as Florida. And what is more, to John Cabot is

due the honor of being the first to discover the mainland of America. This he sighted on the 24th of June, 1497. It was in August of the following year that Columbus first came in sight of Paria; and, as we believe, it was not until the year 1499 that Amerigo Vespucci made his first voyage to the west. Sebastian Cabot's claim that he voyaged as far to the south as Florida is questioned by the Spanish historian Gomara, who places the terminus of Cabot's voyage at thirty-eight degrees north latitude. He says:

"But he who made this land more widely known was Sebastian Gaboto, a Venetian. He equipped two ships in England (he having been taken there when he was little—*do tratava desde pequeño*) at the cost of King Henry VII., who desired the trade in spices the same as the king of Portugal. Others say at his own expense, and that he promised King Henry to go by the north to Cathay, and to bring spices there in less time than the Portuguese from the south. He also went to see if there was any land in the Indies on which a colony might be settled. He took three hundred men and steered a course by the way of Iceland, above the Cape of Labrador, going as far as fifty-eight degrees, though he says much farther, stating that in the month of July it was so extremely cold and that there were so many icebergs floating in the sea, that he did not dare to go farther. . . . So Gaboto, having inspected the cold and strange country, changed his course to the south, and returning again to the Bacalaos (*los Bacalaos*), he followed the coast as far as thirty-eight degrees, and then returned to England."

Of the further exploits of Sebastian Cabot and the remainder of his life there is not much that needs to be said in this connection. He had gained for himself great fame and respect. Harrisse is of the opinion that he furthered his own interest by sedulously cultivating in the minds of the governors of England and Spain an unwarranted

belief that he knew of a northern passage to Asia. To discover this he was placed in command, in 1517, of an English expedition, and succeeded in reaching the entrance to Hudson's Bay. In 1518, he was made Grand Pilot of Spain, but eventually returned to England, where he died in 1557.

The exploration of North America was continued by Portugal. Although Da Gama had succeeded in reaching India by rounding Cape of Good Hope, the Portuguese could not rest satisfied with the accomplishment of this long-sought purpose, in view of the discoveries being made by Spain in the west. Consequently, in May, 1500, letters patent were granted by King Manoel to Gaspar Cortereal. In them occurs the following notable passage:

"Whereas Gasper Corte-Real, a nobleman of ours, formerly did make great efforts, of his own free will and at his own cost, with vessels and men, spending his fortune, and at the peril of his life, to discover islands and a continent; and that, hoping to succeed, he desires at present to continue and do everything possible to find the said isles and continent. Now therefore," etc.

The indication is that Gaspar Cortereal had for some time been engaged in the endeavor to make explorations in the west. Of the nature of these and their results, if any, nothing is told us. This discoverer was born some time about the middle of the fifteenth century; but of his early life we know nothing. In 1480 we find him in Terceira, one of the Azores. Here he could not help being imbued with enthusiasm regarding oceanic discovery; for, as we have seen, the Azores being the outposts of the Old World, their inhabitants were most keenly susceptible to the casual indications of unknown western lands and the resulting desire to find them. Cortereal does not seem to have accomplished much on his first voyage. It is probable that his landfall was somewhere near Notre Dame Bay, in Newfoundland; and he may have coasted as far as the southeast extremity of that island. Of this expedition Ramusio says:

"In the part of the New World which runs toward the north and northwest, opposite our habitable part of Europe, many captains have navigated, and the first (by that which one knows) was Gaspar Cortereal, a Portuguese, who, in 1500, went with two caravels, intending to find some strait of the sea whence by a shorter voyage than that taken around Africa he would be able to go to the Spice Islands. He sailed so far forward that he came to a place where it was extremely cold, and he found, in the latitude of sixty degrees, a river closed with snow, to which he gave the name, calling it Rio Nevado. But he had not sufficient courage to pass much beyond it. The whole of this coast, which runs two hundred leagues from Rio Nevado as far as to the port of Malvas, in fifty-six degrees, he saw full of people and along it many dwellings."

Ramusio, evidently, was not aware of the discoveries made by the Cabots in that region.

In the spring of 1501, Gaspar Cortereal and his brother Miguel sailed with a new expedition, in two ships. On this voyage they seem to have first reached land at the southern extremity of Greenland. A map was made at Lisbon in 1502, which sets forth the discoveries of the Cortereals in 1501. This shows a great promontory, which, though placed too far to the north, is evidently intended for Greenland. Inscribed on the scroll ornamenting the map are the words: "This land, which was discovered by order of the most excellent Prince Dom Manoel, King of Portugal, is that end of Asia. Those who made the discovery did not go ashore, but saw the land, and remarked nothing but very abrupt mountains. That is the reason why, following the opinion of cosmographers, it is believed to be the extremity of Asia."

Pasqualigo, writing to his brothers, October 19, 1501, from the court of Portugal, where he then was ambassador, says: "On the 8th of the present month, one of the two caravels which his most serene majesty sent the past year

under the command of Gaspar Corterat, arrived here, and reports the finding of a country distant west and northwest two thousand miles, heretofore quite unknown.

"They ran along the coast between six hundred and seven hundred miles without arriving at its termination, on which account they concluded it to be the same continent that is connected with another land which was discovered last year in the north, but which the caravel could not reach on account of the ice and the vast quantity of snow, and they are confirmed in this belief by the multitude of great rivers they found, which certainly could not proceed from an island. They report that this land is thickly peopled, and that the houses are built of very long beams of timber, and covered with the skins of fishes. They have brought hither along with them seven of the inhabitants, including men, women, and children; and in the other caravel, which is looked for every hour, they are bringing fifty more. These people, in color, figure, stature, and expression, greatly resemble gypsies. They are clothed with the skins of different beasts, but chiefly of the otter, wearing the hair outside in summer, and next to the skin in winter. These skins, too, are not sewed together, nor shaped to the body in any fashion, but wrapped around the arms and shoulders as they were taken from the animals. . . . On this account their appearance is wholly barbarous; yet they are very sensible to shame, gentle in their manners, and better made in their arms, legs, and shoulders than can be expressed. Their faces are punctured in the same manner as the Indians; some have six marks, some eight, some fewer. They use a language of their own, but it is understood by no one. Moreover, I believe that every possible language has been addressed to them. They have no iron in their country, but manufacture knives out of certain kinds of stones, with which they point their arrows.

"They have also brought from this island a piece of a broken sword inlaid with gold, which we can pronounce

undoubtedly to have been made in Italy; and one of the children had in his ears two pieces of silver, which likewise appear to have been made in Venice, a circumstance inducing me to believe that their country belongs to the continent, since it is evident that if it were an island where any vessel had touched before this time we should have heard of it.

"They have plenty of salmon, herring, cod, and other fish of the same kind. They have an abundance of timber, principally pine, fitted for masts and yards of ships, on which account his serene majesty anticipates the greatest profit from this country, both in providing timber for ships, of which he, at present, stands in great need, and from the men that inhabit it, who appear admirably fitted to endure labor, and will probably be the best slaves which have been found up to this time.

"This arrival appeared to me to be an event of which it was right to inform you; and if on the arrival of the other caravel I receive any additional information, it shall be transmitted to you in like manner."

The other caravel was awaited in vain; and in May, 1502, Miguel Cortereal sailed from Lisbon with three ships, to search for his brother. In the letters patent granted him by King Manoel he was to own all the continent and islands which he might discover that year. Of this voyage we know no more than that it was unsuccessful and entirely disastrous to the Cortereals. All our information is contained in the following account by Antonio Galvam:

"In this same year 1500 it is said that Gaspar Cortereal begged permission of King Manoel to discover a New Land [*Terra Nova*]. He departed from the island of Terceira with two ships equipped at his own expense, and he sailed to that region which is in the north in fifty degrees of latitude, which is a land now called after his name. He returned home in safety to the city of Lisbon. Sailing a second time on this voyage the ship was lost in which he

went, and the other vessel came back to Portugal. His brother Miguel went to seek him with three ships at his own cost, and when they came to that coast, and found so many entrances of rivers and havens, each ship entered a different river, with this regulation and command, that they all three should meet again on the twentieth of August. The other two ships did as commanded, and they seeing that Miguel Cortereal came not on the appointed day nor afterward in a certain time, returned to this realm and never heard anything more concerning him. . . . But that country is called Terra dos Cortereals unto this day."

Although the expeditions of the Cortereals had resulted in the acquisition of important knowledge of an extensive coast line of North America,—including within its course some of the land already discovered by Cabot,—and an acquaintance with the inhabitants, they were most disastrous; for, as we have seen, both brave discoverers lost their lives. This event, however, did not deter the eldest brother, Vasque Anes, from proposing to embark in search of them, but King Manoel refused his consent to this undertaking. The pioneer transatlantic discoveries of the Portuguese were thus clouded with melancholy, and further efforts in this direction checked. Great as Portugal had become through the discoveries due to Prince Henry which had added many Atlantic island jewels to the Portuguese crown, how much greater lustre and glory would have been hers had her monarch yielded to the solicitations of Columbus before he negotiated with the Spanish sovereign!

CHAPTER X

SPANISH EXPLORATION IN FLORIDA AND MEXICO

The seeds of discovery planted by Columbus in the New World had thriven wondrously for Spain. Settlements were already springing up and new fields were attracting her hardy adventurers. From a weak congeries of provinces that constituted the kingdom of Spain prior to the close of the fifteenth century, this nation—to-day but a dwindling, third-rate power—had, through the tireless energy of her navigators and explorers, gained an ascendency in America that made her the chief world power in the sixteenth century. Hitherto the work had been one of discovery; henceforth exploration was also to engage the enterprise of the Spaniards. Already Spain's acquisitions in the newly found continent had poured into her cities a wealth which until that time had only been dreamed of in Europe; and the work of exploration trained her sons in that habit of ambitious enterprise, looking to territorial expansion, by which in those days a nation was enlarged as it is in these times by the extension of its commerce.

It is impossible for us now to comprehend all the puzzling questions and wild anticipations with which the discovery of the transatlantic continent filled men's minds. Nor is it easy for us to keep in view the fact that for a long time the explorers and geographers could not decide what was that land which they had found. Was it Asia and the long-looked-for and much-speculated-upon Cathay? This notion, so deeply rooted in the minds of the earliest

voyagers, was exceedingly tenacious. Consequently, the hope of finding a way to the wealth of India and the East survived until the gold of Mexico and Peru satisfied other than geographical interests. And as the idea grew more apparent that the lands discovered belonged to a world hitherto unknown to Europe or its ancient philosophers, there was no limit to the speculations as to what might be discovered within its bounds. Human thought was thrown so far out of its usual grooves that, even by reasonable men, anticipations based on the subversion of well-known natural laws were cherished. Thus in no other period of human history was there such a fascinating field of adventure thrown open. Every inducement was offered by which men are persuaded to risk life and fortune. For the avaricious there was the hope of acquiring wealth on which the imagination needed to place no limit. For the curious there were all the wondrous possibilities which a vast, new, and unexplored world might provide. And for all there was that motive which in the sixteenth century was of most mighty force—glory.

Thus influenced, the navigators of various nations, but chiefly those of Spain, had by the year 1512 extended the line of discovery from the frozen shores of Labrador in the north to the Rio de la Plata in the south. The West India and Caribbean Islands had been explored and to some degree settled. Nuñez de Balboa, who a year hence was to cross the isthmus and from a peak of the Andes see for the first time with European eyes the Pacific, was engaged in colonizing Darien. But though the mariners had outlined so much of the eastern coast of the continent, there were vast regions which had not yet been explored; and the maps and sailing charts gave little more than the great promontories, and other indications which were largely of the nature of suppositions. The interior of the continent was still unexplored.

Cabot very probably had reached the southern extremity of Florida; but he had not even landed on its shores. To

Juan Ponce de Leon must be ascribed the glory of being the first explorer of what for many years was known as the Isle of Florida.

Ponce de Leon was born in Spain about the year 1460. In 1493, he sailed with Columbus to Hispaniola, and under Ovando became governor of the eastern province of that island. In 1508, he went to Porto Rico, which he explored and partially conquered, and became, in 1510, its governor. In 1513, inspired by one of those phantasmagoric ideas concerning the New World to which we have alluded, he went in search of the island of Bimini, where he was led to believe was situated the miraculous spring of which Herrera speaks in the following brief account:

"Juan Ponce de Leon, besides intending to make new discoveries, as all the Spaniards at that time aspired to do, was also intent on finding the fountain of Bimini and a river in Florida; the Indians of Cuba and Española affirming that old people bathing themselves in them became young again, and it was a fact that many Indians of Cuba, firmly believing that there was such a stream, had found that island not long before the Spaniards, and had passed over to Florida in search of the river, and there built a town, where their descendants reside to this day. This report so affected all the princes and caciques in those parts that it was a hobby to find a river which wrought such a wonderful change as made old people young, so that there was not a river, or a brook, scarcely a lake or a puddle, in all Florida, in which they did not bathe themselves."

This island was supposed to lie somewhere to the north of Cuba. In 1511, Peter Martyr wrote of it to the Pope in the following words: "There is an island about three hundred and twenty-five leagues from Española, as they say who have searched for it, named Boiucam, or Aguaneo, on which is a never-failing spring of running water of such marvellous efficacy that when the water is drunk, perhaps, with some

attention to diet, it makes old people young again. And here I must beg your holiness not to think that this is said jestingly or thoughtlessly, for they have reported it everywhere as a fact, so that not only all the common people, but also the educated and the wealthy believe it to be true."

To Ponce de Leon the discovery of this spring of perennial life seemed more desirable than the finding of mines of gold—that chief end of Spanish exploration. It is unfortunate that we possess but little information regarding the incidents of his expedition, the places where he landed, or the country he traversed. It is known, however, that he sailed from Porto Rico, with three vessels, on the 3d of March, 1513. Herrera, continuing his brief account of the voyage, says:

"On Sunday, the twenty-seventh of March, the day of the Feast of the Resurrection, commonly called the Feast of Flowers, they saw an island and passed by it. On Monday, the twenty-eighth, they steered in the same direction, fifteen leagues, until Wednesday, when the weather became foul. They then stood W. N. W. until the second of April. The water grew shallower until they came into nine fathoms, a league from the land, which was in thirty degrees and eight minutes. Thinking this land was an island, they called it La Florida, because it had a very pretty landscape of many green groves, and it was level and regular, and because they discovered it at the time of the Floral Feast. Juan Ponce wished the name to conform to these two facts. He went on land to learn the language and to take possession.

"On Friday, the eighth, they sailed again the same way, and on Saturday, S. by E., until the twentieth, when they saw some Indian huts from the place where they had cast anchor. The next day the three ships sailed along the coast and entered a current which was so swift that it drove them back, although they had the wind strong. The two ships, near the land, dropped their anchors, but the

force of the stream was so great that it strained the cables. The third vessel, a brigantine, being farther out, either found no bottom or was not sensible of the current, which carried her so far from the shore that they lost sight of her, although the day was bright and the weather fine.

"Juan Ponce, being called by the Indians, went ashore, and the latter at once undertook to possess themselves of the boat, the oars, and the arms. This was tolerated till one of the Indians stunned a sailor with a stroke of a cudgel on the head, when the Spaniards were compelled to fight. They had two of their men wounded with darts and arrows pointed with sharp bones, and the Indians received little injury. Night parting them, Juan Ponce with considerable difficulty got his men together and sailed thence to a river, where they wooded and watered, and waited for the brigantine. Sixty Indians came to attack them, one of whom was taken to give information and to learn the Spanish language. The river they called Rio de la Cruz [River of the Cross], planting there a stone cross bearing an inscription."

In a map now preserved at Seville, and made in the year 1519, the Gulf of Mexico is shown, and a peninsula with the inscription: "Florida, said to be Bimini, which was discovered by Juan Ponce." Ortubia, one of De Leon's lieutenants, soon afterward reported that he had found the island of Bimini, but could give no account of the life-giving spring. Ponce de Leon was afterward appointed adelantado of Bimini and Florida. In the year 1521, aroused to emulation by the successful operations of Cortés in Mexico, he again sailed to Florida, with the intention of colonizing the territory. But he encountered a warlike people, who were disposed to resist the intrusion of the Spaniard. De Leon and his men were driven with much loss to their ships; the former was wounded by an arrow and shortly after died in Cuba; and thus was ended his quest for the fount of perennial youth.

Early in the year 1517, Hernandez de Cordova, a Spanish officer in Cuba, sailed with three vessels on an expedition among the Bahamas to capture slaves. He was driven out of his course by adverse winds, and at the end of three weeks found himself near an unknown coast. This was the country which became known as Yucatan. A popular story explains the origin of the name thus: On landing, the Spaniards endeavored to learn from the natives the name of the land. The reply they received was "Tectelan"; a word meaning "I do not understand you." But the Spaniards accepted it as the proper information they were seeking. Diaz, however, as we shall see, gives the name another derivation. Cordova found here the first sign of that civilization which so wonderfully distinguished Mexico from the rest of the continent. Hitherto, Europeans had found in the lands of their discovery nothing but untutored savages living in the most barbarous and undeveloped style. But here were buildings constructed of stone and mortar and inhabited by a people who were clothed in well-woven cotton garments. There were temples also which were filled with idols and ornaments made of gold; but these the Spaniards were not to possess without much fighting and loss of life, as we learn from the narration of Bernal Diaz, who thus describes a fight which they had with the natives at Champeton:

"Perceiving how closely we were hemmed in on all sides by the enemy, who not only kept getting fresh troops but were plentifully supplied in the field with meat, drink, and numbers of arrows, we soon concluded that all our valiant fighting would not benefit us. All of us were wounded. Many were shot through the neck and more than fifty of our men were killed. In this critical position we determined to cut our way manfully through the enemy's ranks and get to the boats, which fortunately lay on the coast near us. We therefore resolutely closed our ranks and broke through those of the enemy. You should then have

Sebastian Cabot. From the painting by Chapman after the original attributed to Holbein. *Now in possession of the Historical Society of Massachusetts.*

heard the whizzing of their arrows, the terrible yells of the Indians, and how they incited one another to fight. . . . Many of our men were wounded while climbing into the vessel, especially those who clung to its side, for the Indians pursued us in their canoes, and persistently assailed us. With the utmost exertion and the help of God we escaped from the hands of this people. . . "

Cordova, having coasted around the peninsula as far as Campeche, returned to Santiago de Cuba. The news of the expedition soon spread throughout San Domingo and Cuba. Particular interest was shown in the crowns, the golden ducks, the fish, and the idols which were brought home; so that, as Diaz relates, not only were they much talked of in the islands, but the report concerning them reached Spain, where it was said that "none of the discovered countries were as rich as this one." Two Indians had been brought back by the party; when closely questioned by Diego Velasquez, the governor, they affirmed the existence of gold mines in their country and also that gold dust was there in abundance, which statement Diaz says was not true, "for it is well known that there are no gold mines . . . in the whole of Yucatan." They were shown the seed beds of the cassava plant, from whose root bread is made and which in Cuba is called *yuca*, the ground in which it is planted being called by the Indians *tale*, "so from these two words originated the name of the country, Yucatan; for the Spaniards, who were standing around the governor at the time he was speaking to the two Indians, said: 'You see, sir, they call their country Yucatan.' And from this circumstance the country retained the name of Yucatan, although the natives call it by a different name."

After Velasquez had heard the favorable account of the newly discovered Yucatan, he fitted out another expedition in 1518, consisting of four vessels. The report of the "lime and stone houses" in that country and the "signs" made by the Indian Melchorejo, who had returned with the

discoverers, had aroused great enthusiasm "among the inhabitants and soldiers on the island [Cuba]," and two hundred and twenty men were soon ready to accompany this second expedition. Velasquez, believing that much gold would be obtained, deemed it necessary to place the undertaking in charge of one on whom he could rely; he therefore appointed his nephew, Juan de Grijalva, to the chief command. The points reached by Cordova were revisited, but the natives at first were no more friendly than before; after a while, however, the Spaniards established better relations and secured much gold in barter. Among the evidences of civilization which attracted Grijalva were many large stone crosses, which appeared to be objects of veneration by the natives, hence he named the country New Spain; but the Spaniards soon found that these were no indications of a religion in any way like the Christian. Here they first saw the pyramidal temples of the Aztecs and witnessed the horrible human sacrifices to which those temples were devoted.

In their intercourse with the natives the Spaniards frequently heard the word Mexico, and especially when they inquired where more gold might be found. They therefore proceeded northward along the coast of Mexico, and thus prepared the way for the expeditions which were soon to follow. Their eager quest of gold, and how at times it was disappointed, is quaintly illustrated by Bernal Diaz, who was one of the explorers:

"As soon as the inhabitants of Guacasualco and the neighboring districts learned that we offered our goods for barter, they brought us all their golden ornaments, and took in exchange green glass beads, on which they set a high value. Besides ornaments of gold, each Indian had with him a copper axe, which was very highly polished, with the handle curiously carved, that served equally as an ornament and, on the field of battle, as a weapon. At first we thought that these axes were made of an inferior kind

of gold. Therefore we began to take them in exchange, and in the space of two days collected more than six hundred, with which we were no less pleased, as long as we were ignorant of their real value, than the Indians were with our glass beads. . . . We set sail for Cuba, and arrived there in the space of forty days. . . . We were most graciously welcomed by the governor, Diego Velasquez, who was highly delighted with the additional gold we brought him. Altogether it was well worth four thousand pesos; so that, with the sixteen thousand brought over by Alvarado, the whole amounted to twenty thousand pesos. Some made this sum greater, some less; but one thing is certain, the crown officials took only the fifth of the last-mentioned sum. When they were about to take the fifth also of the Indian axes, which we had mistaken for gold, they grew exceedingly angry on finding them only to be of a fine quality of copper. This caused the people to laugh at our trading transactions."

Velasquez now set about the exploration and taking possession of Mexico in the most thorough manner, though, as it turned out, he himself took but little part in the project. He placed a new expedition in charge of Hernando Cortés, and his choice could not possibly have fallen upon a man better adapted to carry out its design. Born in 1485, this famous explorer made his first voyage to the New World in 1504. By nature he was possessed of a courage which in many of its manifestations can only be described as audacity. His experience with Velasquez in conquering Cuba inured him to that Spanish method of treating natives which in Mexico he was to employ on the largest scale and in the most memorable instance which the history of the New World affords.

On the 10th of February, 1519, he sailed from Cuba with eleven vessels and seven hundred men. It is said that Velasquez, who was of an extremely jealous and distrustful disposition, purposed, at the last moment, to withdraw the command from Cortés; but the latter defeated

this object by sailing away before all the preparations were completed. He took the route that had been followed by Grijalva until he came to Tabasco River, which had been discovered by the latter.

He was not to proceed without ceremony to the fulfilment of his plan to explore Mexico, for Montezuma had despatched Teuthlille, one of his great princes, as envoy to the leader of the strange visitors. The Spaniards found in this important official an Indian of a type altogether different from any they had yet met; they were soon made aware also that they were in the midst of a country possessed of a highly organized social system, whose monarch was as sensible of his dignity as was the King of Spain, and whose ambassador was by no means lacking in the diplomacy which is the usual mark of that office.

The envoy was accompanied by another distinguished official and attended by a large retinue of Indians bearing presents of fowls and plants. The salutations were marked by much ceremony, and on their completion Teuthlille announced that he wished, at the request of his king, to learn who the Spaniards were and what they sought in the country. Cortés promised a reply and meanwhile caused mass to be said, at which Montezuma's representatives were present; he then entertained them at dinner, and informed them at its close that the Spaniards were the subjects of the greatest monarch in the world, at whose command they had come to Montezuma's country, concerning which and its mighty sovereign their monarch had long before heard. Cortés further announced that he desired to become the friend of the Mexican sovereign and that he had many things to disclose to him in the name of his majesty the emperor. To the end that a good understanding should be established between himself and Montezuma's subjects, Cortés desired to be informed of the monarch's place of residence, so that he might pay his respects to him and make the intended disclosures. The answer of the wary ambassador, as recorded by Diaz, was imperiously uttered:

"Inasmuch as you have lately arrived in this country, it would be more becoming that before desiring an interview with my monarch, you should accept this present, which we have brought you in his name, and then disclose your wishes to me." He then presented Cortés with many gold trinkets, a lot of stuffs made of cotton and feathers, and many other costly presents, besides provisions, all of which Cortés received "with a pleased expression, and presented these gentlemen in return with glass beads resembling brilliants and other things that we had brought from Spain." Before taking his departure, the ambassador caused pictures of all he had seen to be made by the native artists in his train; he also promised to request the inhabitants to begin bartering gold for the articles which the Spaniards had for trading purposes.

Some days afterward, Teuthlille returned "with more than a hundred Indian porters, all heavily laden" with presents consisting of various cotton stuffs "beautifully manufactured," shields of exquisite cotton and feather work, a helmet of carved wood, "filled with grains of gold," gold and silver lockets to the number of a thousand, shoes and sandals of leather, and many other articles of the finest workmanship and of rare material, the recital of which fills the reader with wonder at the wealth and also the art of the Aztec nation. Juan de Torquemada, a contemporary writer, says: "Those who saw the splendid presents said that without considering the beautiful workmanship, the value of the gold and silver alone amounted to twenty-five *castellanos de oro*, so that the full value of these presents may be rightly estimated at fifty thousand ducats." The quality of the presents revealed to the crafty Cortés the culture of the Mexicans, and their value filled his mind with the rich prospect that opened to his audacious undertaking. Montezuma, in addition to the magnificence of his gifts, seems to have astutely flattered Cortés by sending as a joint ambassador with Teuthlille a distinguished cacique named Quintalbor, who had been chosen because of the strong

resemblance he bore to Cortés, a resemblance recognized by all the grandees in attendance when the Spaniard's picture was presented to Montezuma.

But neither flattery nor presents availed to turn Cortés from his project. Rather had the sight of such wondrously beautiful objects, and the yet more fascinating gold, intensified his cupidity; again were rich gifts bestowed on him by Montezuma, who, with his courtiers, was dismayed at the intelligence that the Spaniard persisted in visiting the king at his capital. The Spaniard had resources on which the Mexicans did not count, and the latter already stood in too great awe of the unwelcome intruders to compel them to leave their country. Montezuma's entreaties were in vain: Cortés, in his progress, first conquered and then diplomatically made friends with the people of the provinces on whom the Mexicans were in the habit of laying heavy tribute in human beings for the supply of their dreadful sacrificial rites. These people were ready to support the invader against the tyrant who oppressed them. Five of their number, we learn from Diaz, had visited Cortés and proffered their help against the hated Mexicans and furnished him with valuable information respecting the enemies of Montezuma. Thus was the way paved for the overthrow of the Mexican dynasty and the acquisition of the rich treasures of the country.

While busy with his explorations and his projects to possess himself of the Mexican empire and its wealth, Cortés also took careful measures to establish his political position and guard himself against the jealousy of Velasquez. The latter had adherents in the company of Cortés; and the commander knew that if through them information of his rich finding should reach Cuba, his own supremacy would soon be at an end, or at least desperately disputed. He therefore founded a city near Chiahuitala, which he called Villa Rica de Vera Cruz. This being by him constituted a Spanish municipality, he resigned his commission which he had received from Velasquez, and caused himself to be

placed in supreme command by the city which he had created. He also used every effort to prevent news of his movements reaching Havana, but sent the most glowing accounts of his discoveries to the court of Spain.

In order to compel the men with him to realize that they must depend entirely upon their courage and their unanimity of purpose, Cortés, in August, 1519, formed and carried out a plan which has hardly its equal in history for desperate and audacious bravery. He destroyed his ships; and thus made it necessary that he and his men should remain in the country and support themselves in it by the force of arms.

How and under what difficulties Cortés marched through the country; how he made allies of the Tlascalans, first by acts of prowess in war against them, and then by availing himself of their natural enmity toward the Mexicans; how he entered the great city of Cholula, and, though received there with great honor, yet, believing that a plot was formed against him, deluged the streets of the city with the blood of its inhabitants, we cannot here describe in detail. Prescott's immortal work follows the conqueror step by step. We will include only the following note from Bernal Diaz, giving the impressions of an eyewitness of Aztec magnificence and those cruelties of the Mexican religion which serve to mitigate our criticism of Spanish severity.

"Cholula had more than a hundred very high towers; they were all *cues*, or temples, in which stood idols to which human sacrifices were offered. The principal temple was even higher than the one in the city of Mexico, though the latter was really magnificent and very high. The temple (at Cholula) is said to have contained one hundred courts, and an idol of enormous dimensions (the name of which I have forgotten), which was in great repute, and people came from various places to sacrifice human beings to it and bring offerings for the dead. I well remember when we first entered the city and beheld the elevated white temples,

how the whole place reminded us all of Valladolid. . . . I must add a word or two respecting the wooden cages we saw in this city. They were constructed of heavy timber, and filled with grown men and little boys, who were fattening for the sacrifices and feasts. Cortés ordered these diabolical cages to be pulled down, and sent the prisoners to their homes."

But Cholula was not the objective point of the determined explorer; and in spite of the protestations of the monarch, Cortés was unalterable in his purpose to visit the capital and see Montezuma in person. When the latter learned that this was the Spaniard's resolve, he concluded it to be the better policy to receive his visitor with a good grace, and also with all the dignity which his barbaric civilization could muster. He sent his nephew, Cacamatzin, the Prince of Tezcuco, with great pomp, to bid the Spaniards welcome; so, accompanied by many of the noblest caciques and an innumerable train of their attendants, Cortés and his men moved toward the capital.

New surprises attended their course at every step; they saw an architecture, the beauty of which Diaz says "resembled the fairy castles of which we read in *Amadis of Gaul;* so high, majestically, and splendidly did the temples, towers, and houses of the city, all built of massive stone and lime, rise above the water of the lake." They were amazed as new evidences of wealth and culture were revealed on their way. Proceeding through Iztapalapan, accompanied by the royal escort, and attended by great throngs of people that were constantly arriving to gaze at them, the Spaniards saw city on city stretching out along the banks of Lake Tezcuco, with the coveted goal, the great city of Mexico lying in all its grandeur before them. Well might Diaz write:

"And we, who were beholding this spectacle, who were passing through this dense concourse of human beings, were a mere handful of men, in all four hundred and fifty,

our minds filled with the warnings of the inhabitants of Huexotzinco, Tlascala, and Tlalmanalco, and the caution they had given us not to expose our lives to the treachery of the Mexicans. I ask the kind reader to reflect a moment, and then to say whether he believes any men in this world ever attempted so bold an undertaking."

Montezuma proceeded to the outskirts of his capital to meet his despoilers. His state attire, retinue, all denoted his wealth and importance. He was no mere barbaric chieftain going to receive the strangers; ceremony that exceeded that of the Old World courts prevailed in his; the most profuse politeness and royal dignity marked his reception of Cortés and his party. The Spanish leader was invited to the capital, whither he was conducted by two royal princes and a following of grandees. Arrived within the city, the Spaniards were quartered in a large building near the temples, because it was supposed by the Mexicans that their visitors were of a divine character and should properly dwell among the gods. "The apartments and halls were very spacious," says Diaz, "and those set apart for our general were furnished with carpets. Each one of us had a separate bed, which could not have been better furnished for a gentleman of the first rank. Each apartment was swept clean, and the walls were newly plastered and decorated."

On November 9, 1519, Cortés had an audience with Montezuma in his palace. This most remarkable ruler is thus described by Diaz:

"The mighty Montezuma may have been about this time in the fortieth year of his age. He was tall, slender, and thin; but his body was well proportioned. His complexion was not very brown, almost the same as that of the inhabitants. His hair was not long, excepting where it hung thickly over his ears, which were hid by it. His black beard, though thin, was handsome. His face was somewhat long, but he had a cheerful countenance, and

his fine eyes had an expression of amiability or of ill will according to his humor. He was particularly clean in appearance, and took a bath every evening. Besides a number of concubines, who were all daughters of note and rank, he had two lawful wives of royal extraction, whom, however, he visited secretly without anyone daring to observe him, except his most confidential servants."

Nothing could give a more vivid impression of the wonderful social system of this great nation of the New World than the following description by Diaz of the market place in the city of Mexico:

"Our commander, attended by the greater part of our horsemen and foot soldiers, all well armed, as we were at all times, proceeded to the Tlatelulco. By command of Montezuma, a number of caciques met us on our way thither. When we arrived in this immense market, we were greatly astonished to see the vast number of people, the profusion of merchandise exposed for sale, and the admirable police system, and the order that everywhere existed. The grandees who accompanied us drew our attention to the smallest circumstance, and gave us an explanation of all we saw. Each class of merchandise had a separate place for its sale. We first visited those divisions of the market set apart for the sale of gold and silver wares, jewels, cloths interwoven with feathers, and other manufactured goods, where also slaves of both sexes were sold. The slave market was upon as great a scale as the Portuguese market for negro slaves at Guinea. To prevent the slaves from running away, they were fastened by halters around their necks, though some were allowed to walk at large. Next to these divisions were the dealers in coarser wares, cotton, twisted thread, and cacao. In short, all kinds of commodities produced in New Spain [Yucatan and Mexico] were here to be found. The market reminded me of my native town of Medina del Campo at fair time, where each kind

of merchandise has a separate street assigned for its sale. In one place were sold the stuffs manufactured of *nequen*, as ropes and sandals. In another place, the sweet *maguey* root, ready cooked, was offered for sale, and various other things made from this plant. In another part of the market were exposed the skins of tigers, lions, jackals, otters, red deer, wild-cats, and of other animals of prey. Some of the skins were tanned. A particular space was assigned to the vendors of fowls, turkeys, ducks, rabbits, hares, deer, and dogs; also a space to the fruit sellers, pastry cooks, and tripemongers. Not far from these were exposed all kinds of earthenware, from the largest jars to the smallest pitchers. Next were the dealers in honey and honey cakes, and other sweetmeats. Next to these were the timber merchants, furniture dealers, with assortments of tables, benches, cradles, and all kinds of wooden implements, all separately arranged."

But the feature of Aztec civilization—if civilization it can be called—which stands out in greatest and most horrifying prominence is the religious rites of the Mexicans. It serves considerably to lessen our abhorrence of the treatment which Montezuma and his people received from the Spanish invaders, and to dull the keenness of our sympathy with the former. Diaz thus describes the principal scene of these abominable rites:

"Before we ascended the steps of the great temple, Montezuma, who was sacrificing on the top to his idols, sent six priests and two of his principal officers to conduct Cortés up the steps. There were one hundred and fourteen steps to the summit, and as they feared that Cortés would experience the same fatigue in mounting as Montezuma had, they desired to assist him by taking hold of his arms. Cortés, however, would not accept the proffered aid. When we had reached the summit of the temple, we walked across a platform where many large stones were lying, on which those who were doomed for sacrifice were stretched out.

Near these stood a large idol, in the shape of a dragon, surrounded by various other abominable figures, with a quantity of fresh blood in front of it. . . .

"This infernal temple, from its great height, commanded an extensive view of the surrounding country. From it we could see the three causeways leading to the city,—that one from Iztapalapan, by which we had entered the city four days before; that one from Tlacupa, along which we took our flight eight months after, when we were driven out of the city by the new monarch, Cuitlahuatzin; the third, the one from Tepeaquilla. We also saw the aqueduct, which extended from Chapultepec and supplied the city with fresh water. We could also distinctly see the bridges across the openings in the causeways, through which the waters of the lake ebbed and flowed. The lake was crowded with canoes conveying provisions, manufactured articles, and other merchandise to the city. We also observed that the only means of intercourse between the houses in this city, and between those of all the other towns built in the lake, was by drawbridges or canoes. In all these cities the beautiful white-plastered temples rose above the smaller ones, like many of the towers and castles in our Spanish cities. The view from the top of the temple, it may be imagined, was a splendid sight.

"After we had sufficiently gazed upon this magnificent picture, we again turned our eyes toward the great market, and beheld the vast number of buyers and sellers who thronged it. The bustle and noise caused by this multitude of human beings was so great that it could be heard at a distance of more than four miles. Some of our men, who had been at Constantinople and at Rome and had travelled through the whole of Italy, said that they never had seen a market place of such large dimensions, or which was so well regulated, or so crowded with people, as this one in Mexico."

Dazzled by the magnificence and wealth now presented, and realizing the prize that his exploration offered to his

cupidity, Cortés determined to secure this great empire as a Spanish possession—an appanage that would outweigh all previous discoveries and intensify the lust of riches and empire. But how to accomplish this was a question which, to his credit it must be said, there are few commanders in the history of the world who would have dared even to take into consideration. He was accompanied by only four hundred and fifty men; he was an unwelcome, though an exceedingly interesting, guest in the midst of a populous and powerful nation; and was entirely without hope of reinforcement or succor from the outside. The plan he conceived and executed is no less illustrative of the shrewdness of his policy than it is of the audacity of his purpose: he would hold Montezuma as a hostage for his safety and as a pledge to be redeemed by the fulfilment of his demands.

Once determined on, Cortés quickly and completely carried out his purpose. Neither the fears of his own men nor his own anxiety could restrain him. He soon found or created a pretext to secure the person of Montezuma. It was reported that nine Spaniards had been killed by a Mexican grandee, and there were rumors of a conspiracy against his own person. He distributed his forces to guard his quarters, keep the streets open, and as a personal escort when he called at Montezuma's palace. Long disputing attended the proposal that Montezuma should accompany Cortés to his quarters, a virtual prisoner; but the Spaniard finally prevailed, after assuring the Mexican monarch that his rule and government should not be affected by his placing himself in Cortés's hands.

The story of how the Mexicans revolted when the Spaniards attacked their idols, although they endured the imprisonment of their king; how Cortés and his few men desperately and with great loss cut their way out of the capital; how the Spanish commander, with a few additional reinforcements of his own nationality and a horde of the Tlascalans, besieged the city for nine months; how Montezuma was slain by his own people, and Guatemotzin, his

successor, gallantly defended his capital; and finally, how this prince was at last defeated and, with the shamelessness characteristic of the Spaniards, put to the torture that he might be compelled to divulge the hiding place of his gold, is one of those authentic and important narratives that taxes to the utmost the confidence of students of history, while it affords perhaps the most thrilling picture presented in the story of the explorations of the New World. The subjugation of the Mexicans, the acquisition of the vast wealth of its ruler and people, and the addition of the great empire to Spain's possessions, were events that surpassed the dreams of avarice, gave a new impetus to the exploitation of the New World, and certainly inscribed one of the most brilliant, perhaps one of the most sinister, pages in the history of the Spanish nation.

CHAPTER XI

SPANISH EXPLORATION OF THE INTERIOR

The discovery of Yucatan and Mexico and the great reservoir of wealth which Cortés had tapped in the latter country threw the Spaniards, on both sides of the Atlantic, into that state of excitement which is commonly and appropriately termed the "gold fever." Something more than mere scientific results had now been achieved; the material success which had been urged as the motive and reward of costly and hazardous expeditions had now been realized even beyond promise; and vast empire power was no longer only a visionary speculation. Whether these new lands were the possession of the Great Khan was a question of minor importance, for riches equalling those of the dreams which had been inspired by Marco Polo were ready to the Spanish hand. Consequently, as is always the case when a new country rich in mineral wealth is thrown open, there was a rush to take possession; and those near by, having the advantage, won the race. Among these was Francisco de Garay, a veteran in West Indian discovery and exploration. He had sailed with Columbus on the second voyage, and in the year 1518 was Governor of Jamaica under Diego Velasquez. Garay's aim was to explore further the country about the river Panuco on the Gulf coast, in the pursuit of which he extended his discoveries along the Florida coast. Bernal Diaz thus writes of Garay's expedition:

"In the year 1518, when the report of our having discovered this country under Cordova and Grijalva, and of the twenty thousand pesos which came into the hands of Diego Velasquez, had spread through the whole of the West Indies," Garay having "received the information of a new expedition that was destined for New Spain, under Hernando Cortés, he [Francisco de Garay] was seized with a great desire likewise to discover some new countries, and certainly he had more wealth at his command than we to fit out a fleet for such a purpose. He had learned considerable about the riches of the new countries from our old chief pilot Alaminos, and how thickly populated the provinces were on the river Panuco; and as several other sailors, who had accompanied us on those expeditions, confirmed what Alaminos had told him, he thought that it was to his advantage to request his majesty to grant him the permission to make further discoveries on the river Panuco, and to appoint him governor of all the lands he should discover. For this purpose he despatched his major-domo, Juan de Torralva, to Spain, with letters and presents for those who at that time administered the affairs of the Indies, soliciting them to procure him the appointment mentioned.

"His majesty was at the time in Flanders, and the president of the council of the Indies, Don Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, bishop of Burgos and titular archbishop of Rosano, with the two licentiates Zapata and Vargas, and the secretary Lopez de Conchillos, managed the affairs of the Indies as they pleased. Garay therefore easily obtained the appointment of adelantado and governor of the provinces bordering on the rivers San Pedro and San Pablo, and of all the countries he should discover. By virtue of this appointment he fitted out three vessels, having on board two hundred and forty men, including a strong body of cavalry, crossbowmen, and musketeers. The chief command of this fleet he gave to Alonso Alvarez de Pineda." Diaz goes on to relate how Pineda set sail with this expedition in 1519 toward "the peninsula of Florida, in twenty-five degrees

El Adelantado IUAN PONCE Descubridor de la Florida.
El Adelantado BASCO NUÑES de xeres que descubrió la mar del Sur.
El Adelantado Hernando de Soto.

Portraits of Juan Ponce de Leon, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, and Hernando de Soto, from Herrera's *Historia*, Antwerp, 1728. *From the original in the New York Public Library, Lenox Branch.*

of north latitude, for Florida appeared to them to be a very attractive island, and they thought that it was better to settle on islands than on the mainland, because they could more easily conquer the natives and keep them in subjection. They landed, but the people of Florida killed so many of them that they did not dare to settle there. They then sailed along the coast and came to the river Panuco, five hundred leagues from the peninsula of Florida, measured on a course along the coast. The natives attacked them at every place. Many of them were killed at Chila (near the mouth of the river Panuco), where the natives flayed and ate those who fell into their hands and hung up the skins in their temples to commemorate their valor."

It would appear that one object which the Pineda expedition had in view was to find the strait by which it was supposed that Florida, as an island, was separated from the mainland. Disastrous as was the ending of this voyage, it nevertheless added very greatly to the knowledge of succeeding navigators in the Gulf of Mexico. It is difficult for us to follow the course of Pineda with any precision. But it seems probable that from some point on the northern coast of the Gulf he sailed southward and eastward to the extremity of the peninsula of Florida. Failing to double this, he returned northward and westward, landing at various points to take formal possession in the name of Spain, until he met Cortés at Tampico. On his return voyage he discovered the estuary of a great river which there is little reason to doubt was the Mississippi, called at that time the Espiritu Santo.

In 1521, Garay received from Charles V. a grant of his discoveries in Florida, which included the Gulf shore from Cape Roxo in Mexico around the seaboard of Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama to Pensacola Bay. He, however, derived but small benefit from this grant, for in 1523 he entered into a dispute with Cortés over the possession of the river Panuco, and was defeated and carried

prisoner to the City of Mexico, where he died. This grant has a humanitarian interest attached to it; for it reveals the fact that the emperor was moved with a desire to ameliorate the condition of the Indians and prevent their abuse by the Spaniards, whose ill treatment of the natives is very clearly indicated by the emperor's directions that search should be made whenever it were necessary to transport goods over inland territory for a river, in order that the natives might be relieved of the arduous task of carrying these burdens on their backs; that every care should be taken to avoid war with the Indians; and that the abduction of their women should be sternly forbidden.

The barbarous treatment of the natives in Hispaniola by the Spaniards had long since resulted in the almost entire depopulation of the country. Hence, in order to obtain slaves, kidnapping expeditions were despatched to the mainland. By the time of which we are now writing, this had become a profitable industry, and was continually resorted to for the purpose of reimbursing the expenses of expeditions of discovery. As the result of a voyage of this description, Chesapeake Bay was discovered by Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon. Hearing of the possessions on the mainland which were falling into the hands of other explorers, he determined also to find for himself a kingdom; at least, this was included in his project. Peter Martyr, writing of this expedition and of the kidnapping of natives, says:

"They determined to go farther toward the north to search for a new country rather than return without any slaves. They reached a country called Chicora and Gualdape, in thirty-two degrees of north latitude; . . . When our men steered toward the shore, the inhabitants, astonished at the sight of the ships, imagined that some monster was approaching. In order to satisfy their curiosity they flocked in great numbers to the shore. When our people were about to land with their boats, the Indians ran rapidly away. As they fled, our men pursued. Some

of the youngest and the fastest runners overtook two of the natives, a man and a woman. They brought these to the ships, dressed them, and gave them their liberty. Impressed by this evidence of good will, the Indians returned in crowds to the beach. The king of the country, learning how our men had dealt with the man and the woman, and seeing the new and costly garments upon them (for the Indians only clothe themselves with the skins of lions or of other animals), sent fifty of his people to ours, bearing the productions of the country. When visited by our people he was friendly and hospitable. When they expressed a desire to see the surrounding country he gave them guides and guards. Wherever they went the inhabitants came reverently to them with presents, as unto gods to be adored, especially when they saw them having beards, and clothed with linen and silken garments. But what! The Spaniards violated the laws of hospitality. For by craft and various cunning devices, after they had seen all that they wished, they so managed that on an appointed day the Indians visited the ships to inspect them. When the vessels were crowded with these innocent people, the anchors were weighed and the sails hoisted, and the Indians were carried away mourning into servitude. Instead of friends they made the people of those regions enemies, and having found them contented they left them miserable, having taken children from parents, and husbands from wives. Of the two ships one only returned, the other was never seen again. It was conjectured that all on board were drowned, the guilty and the guiltless, for it was an old ship. . . .

"While they were there they explored the two principal regions, Chicora and Duharhe. . . . They say that the people of Chicora are half-black or tawny, as our farmers are, burned and tanned by the sun. The men allow their hair to grow long, which often extends down to their girdles. The hair of the women is much longer. Both sexes bind up their hair. The men have no beards.

Whether or not they are so naturally or so by art is unknown; however, they take great pride in having smooth faces. . . . Leaving Chicora they went to the other side of the bay, and took possession of the region called Duharhe."

It was in June, 1521, that De Ayllon's expedition, under the command of Francisco Gordillo, landed upon the continent. The country to which they had come, being in latitude 33° 30′, must have been somewhere near Cape Fear, in North Carolina. It was called by the natives Chicora. To how great an extent the interior was explored by De Ayllon's men may be judged by the stories of the remarkable characteristics of the natives, to which they gave credit. One of these natives, who had been kidnapped, became a Christian and learned to speak Spanish. He was baptized under the name of Francisco Chicora. Oviedo and Peter Martyr have preserved some of the remarkable accounts with which this humorous native entertained the credulous Spaniards. He told them that the people of the neighboring province, which he called Duharhe, were white, and that they had yellow hair which was so long that it reached to their ankles. He said they were governed by a king and queen who were enormously tall. Peter Martyr gives the following account, which he learned from this native, of the method by which this great stature was attained:

"This king, being asked why he and his wife were so remarkably tall and the other people not, replied that their height was not hereditary, but that it had been caused by violent treatment. While they were infants in the charge of nurses their parents sent for those practising the art, who anointed their limbs for a number of days with certain decoctions of herbs to soften their tender bones, which in time became as pliable as lukewarm wax. They then stretched their limbs, often leaving them almost dead.

Thereupon, the nurses, who had been fed certain strength-producing meats, suckled them, the infants being covered with warm cloths. When they had again regained their vigor the practitioners again twisted and pulled their bones as they had previously done. This treatment was repeated from time to time until their limbs were lengthened so much that when they reached maturity they had the desired tallness."

Another historian, Gonzales Barcia, has preserved for us this account of the people of a country called Inzignanin. It was also doubtless a production of Francisco Chicora's lively imagination. "The inhabitants, by report of their ancestors, say that a people as tall as the length of a man's arm, with tails of a span long, sometimes arrived there, brought thither by sea, which tail was not movable or wavering as in four-footed beasts, but solid, broad above, and sharp beneath, as we see in fishes and crocodiles, and extends into a bony hardness. Wherefore, when they desired to sit, they used seats with holes through them, or wanting them, digged up the earth a span deep or a little more, for they must convey their tails into the hole when they rest them."

De Ayllon received from Charles V. a grant conferring upon him the title of adelantado and the possession of the land which he had discovered. But he acquired little profit from these acquisitions, his colonists being massacred by the natives, and he himself dying in 1526. Galvam says: "He was lost with all his company, leaving nothing done worthy of memory. And I cannot tell how it cometh to pass, except it be by the just judgment of God, that of so much gold and precious stones as have been gotten in the Antilles by so many Spaniards, little or none remaineth, but the most part is spent and consumed and no good thing done."

The time had now come when the true geographical nature of these newly discovered and vast tracts of land

was to be revealed. The possibility of sailing around the globe had hitherto been nothing more than a scientific theory. It was for the Portuguese navigator Fernão de Magalhães to immortalize his name by putting this theory to the test; and in thus doing he exploded the belief, which was still extant, that Columbus and his followers had reached the shores of Asia. His historian, Antonio Pigafetta, says:

"The captain-general, Fernão de Magalhães, had determined to undertake a long voyage across the ocean where the winds are violent and storms quite frequent. He also resolved to take a course not yet explored by any navigator, but this bold purpose he was cautious in disclosing lest someone should try to dissuade him from it by magnifying the risk he would run and thus dishearten his men. Besides the danger common to a voyage like this one was the disadvantageous circumstance that the four other vessels under his command were in charge of captains inimical to him solely because he was a Portuguese and they were Spaniards."

Magalhães sailed from Seville on August 10, 1519. He reached Rio Janeiro on the 13th of December. From thence he coasted southward forty-nine degrees to Port St. Julian, where he found a race of giants. This was in May, 1520. He still continued southward until the 21st of October, when he discovered a strait which he named the Strait of the Eleven Thousand Virgins. Bravely entering this, despite the fears and the earnest opposition of his sailors, on the 28th of November, 1520, Magalhães left the passage which was afterward called by his name, and emerged upon the hitherto unexplored expanse of the Pacific. This name he gave to the western ocean "on account of our not having experienced during this period any tempestuous weather." By this he refers to the three months and twenty days during which he sailed on this vast ocean. He steered

northwest by west until, after crossing the equator, he changed his course to west by north. He was in search of Cape Catecara, the southern extremity of India, which Ptolemy had placed in one hundred and eighty degrees of longitude from the Canaries and south of the equator. Varying his course in search of this point, he discovered the Ladrones and then the Philippine Islands in April, 1521. On one of these the brave navigator was slain in an engagement with the natives. But his fleet continued its journey until the 6th of November, when were discovered the Moluccas, or the long sought after Spice Islands. From thence one ship, the *Victoria*, continued the voyage by way of the coast of Africa, reaching Seville on the 8th of September, 1522, having sailed fourteen thousand six hundred leagues. This voyage was only second in its results to that of Columbus. It disabused men's minds of that enormous geographical error which prompted the hope by which Columbus was induced to sail westward. It ascertained and outlined the immense southern extension of the great continent which lay between the Atlantic and Cathay. Magalhães was thus the pioneer in the exploration of an ocean of whose existence Columbus did not dream; indeed, the Genoese held to a cosmography which afforded it no room on the face of the earth.

So much of the coast outline having been explored, it was now time that the vast interior of North America should be traversed. If we except Cortés's invasion of Mexico, comparatively little inland exploration had thus far been accomplished. The first account of the crossing from ocean to ocean, thrilling as it must naturally be, is rendered the more romantic owing to the circumstances by which it was attended.

A new expedition to Florida, projected in Spain in the year 1527, was placed under the command of Panfilo de Narvaez. This explorer had been the lieutenant of Velasquez in Cuba, and in carrying out the latter's purposes, as well as his own, had exhibited more than the ordinary

Spanish indifference toward the sufferings of the natives. In the sequel to this new expedition he met his retribution. On July 17, 1527, Narvaez set sail from San Lucar with five ships and about six hundred sailors, soldiers, and colonists. With him were Cabeza de Vaca, who held the office of treasurer and high sheriff, and Father Juan Xuarez, commissary of the Franciscan Friars. The officers for the new towns that were to be founded were all appointed and endowed with their high-sounding, but as yet empty, titles. These men were commissioned by the emperor to conquer and settle all the country extending from the Rio de Las Palmas to the Cape of Florida. A terrific hurricane struck the fleet at Cuba, which caused the postponement of the voyage to Florida until February, 1528. On the 20th of that month, Narvaez set sail with four ships and a brigantine, and a company which had been reduced to four hundred men. On April 14th, he was at the peninsula west of Tampa Bay. Herrera describes how Narvaez formally took possession of the territory in the name of Spain. He had with him an official document which he had been commanded by the government to read in the hearing of the natives. It consisted of a proclamation "in behalf of the Catholic Cæsarean Majesty Don Carlos, King of the Romans, and Emperor ever Augustus, and Doña Juana, his mother, Sovereigns of Leon and Castilla, Defenders of the Church, ever victors, never vanquished, and rulers of barbarous nations." This document went on to recite to the natives how the Lord had created the heavens and the earth; how all peoples were the descendants of Adam and Eve; how all nations were given by the Lord to St. Peter and the popes, his successors, and how one of these popes had made a present of the particular people then addressed to a former King of Spain. It ended with the warning that unless the natives incontinently became Christians and recognized themselves as loyal subjects of Charles V., Narvaez would "take the persons of yourselves, your wives and your children, to make slaves, sell and dispose of you,

as their majesties shall think fit, and I will take your goods, doing you all the evil and injury that I may be able, as to vassals who do not obey but reject their master, resist and deny him." Inasmuch as all the natives who lived near the shore had immediately run away into the woods at the approach of the white men, and inasmuch as this solemn proclamation, even if they had stopped to listen to it, was couched in the language of Castile, it is not to be presumed that its reading had any noticeable effect on the Indians of Florida.

Narvaez was determined to ascertain what were the characteristics and the resources of his possessions. While he did not, like Cortés, destroy his ships, he reached the same result by deciding that they should sail along the coast in search of Panuco, while the rest of the party explored the shore. This determination was vigorously but unsuccessfully opposed by Cabeza de Vaca, who feared the mischance of the divided companies not being able to find each other again. The sequel justified his forebodings. But it must be said to the credit of this brave man that he voluntarily relinquished the opportunity which was given him to take the safer command of the vessels. Alvaro de la Corda, upon whom this command devolved, after vainly searching, first for the harbor of Panuco and then for Narvaez and his company, during a whole twelvemonth, returned to Spain. Narvaez, on leaving the vessels, explored the country to the northward until they reached the river Withlacoochee. This they crossed by means of rafts, and found on the opposite side an Indian village where they were enabled to restock with provisions, of which they stood in dire need. While at the head of Tampa Bay, Narvaez had seen some gold, which he understood from the natives had come from a region called Appalachee. He made this place the object of his assiduous search. After an arduous and most trying journey, they came to an Indian town of that name on June 25th. It was probably not far from the present city of Tallahassee. But instead of their eyes being

greeted by a rich city and natives splendidly bedizened like those which had enraptured Cortés and his followers in Mexico, they were sorely disappointed to find only thatched huts and natives with nothing about their appearance so noticeable as their lack of apparel.

From this time on, the path of the expedition was beset with the most appalling hardships and disastrous misfortunes. Surrounded by hostile Indians, against whom they hardly had strength to defend themselves, Narvaez and his men found their number daily diminishing. Desperate must have been their plight, for we are told that a horse was drowned while crossing a stream; and they knew not whether to rejoice more for the meat thus provided or mourn the loss of a valuable helper. Disappointed in their search, and disheartened by hunger and fatigue, their only hope was to reach the sea. This at last they succeeded in doing, coming out somewhere on Appalachee Bay. Here, despairing of meeting with their ships, they determined to build boats in order to get away from so inhospitable and profitless a country. This undertaking, lacking as they did material and appliances, and also the means of subsistence, would seem like a wild and desperate resort to the impossible. But those Spanish explorers were not wont to succumb easily to their fate. They constructed a rude forge, and out of the iron of their armor and harness they constructed what served in place of saws and hammers and nails. Their shirts they transformed into sails. They killed and ate their horses, making the hair of the manes and tails of those animals into ropes for rigging and their hides into bottles in which to store water for the projected voyage. At last five boats were completed, and on the 22d of September, 1528, Narvaez and the small remnant of his party embarked. In all there were two hundred and forty-two who had survived the hardships and the attacks of the Indians. With extreme difficulty, and amid fearful dangers, they coasted along the north shore of the Gulf, crossing the mouth of the Mississippi, and continued until they came

near the Bay of Matagorda. Here Cabeza de Vaca and the crew of one of the boats were cast ashore in a storm, while the other boats went on to fall a prey at last to the Indians, or to be driven out to perish at sea. The latter was the fate of Narvaez.

The remainder of the story relates only to Cabeza de Vaca. Cast on an island which they called Malhado, or Misfortune, he and his companions remained a year living with the Indians and subsisting on the roots which the latter dug from under the water. For six years this indomitable adventurer remained in that part of the country, until nearly all his companions had perished, or had wandered away to meet death by sickness or at the hands of the natives. At last, with the three companions who were the sole survivors of the expedition, he determined to make his escape from the Indians by whom they had been enslaved. By this time they were as naked and as destitute as the savages, whose mode of life they were compelled by necessity to imitate. The only advantage they possessed consisted in the fact that the natives believed them to be endowed with the power of healing. By skilfully trading upon this credulity they were enabled to secure for themselves the means of subsistence. They determined to travel, with the hope that at last they might reach some land where they would find Christians. With this slight prospect of relief in view, they traversed Texas and the northern part of Mexico, until at last they reached the Gulf of California; and thus these four were the first to cross the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. They reached the City of Mexico on the 24th of July, 1536, over eight years from the time when De Vaca and his companions were cast ashore on the island of Malhado.

Cabeza de Vaca returned to Spain with the hope that he might be appointed to the governorship of Florida, an anticipation which his toil and suffering in the cause of discovery might well warrant him in cherishing. But this reward had already been conferred upon Hernando de Soto,

whose previous labors had been more profitable to Spain, and whose subsequent journeyings have been awarded a greater fame in history. De Soto was born in Barcarrota about the beginning of the sixteenth century. He early threw himself into the stream of adventure which flowed westward, served under Cordova in Nicaragua, and subsequently won great renown with Pizarro in the conquest of Peru. On the 20th of April, 1537, the Emperor Charles V. commissioned him to conquer and colonize the provinces which had been granted to De Ayllon. For some reason, known only to himself, Cabeza de Vaca, on his return to Spain, included in his sufficiently sensational story of his wanderings a graphic account of great riches which he had seen. He declared that Florida was the richest country in the world. This fired the Spaniards with lust for the adventure, and De Soto found no difficulty in manning his expedition. High officials and grandees of Spain volunteered, until the number was so great that the ships could not contain them. On April 6, 1538, he sailed from San Lucar with a fleet of ten vessels. The following is the account written by a participant and an eyewitness of the things which De Soto did, and that which befell him on this ever memorable journey:

A narrative of the expedition of Hernando de Soto, by Luis Hernandez de Biedma, presented to the King and Council of the Indies, 1544.

"Having arrived at the Port of Baya Honda, we landed six hundred and twenty men, and two hundred and twenty-three horses. As soon as we had done so, we were informed by one of the Indians we had captured that a *Christian* was living a few leagues off, who had served in the expedition of Panfilo de Narvaez. The cacique of this province, on hearing we had landed, asked the Christian if he wished to return to us. He answered in the affirmative, and immediately sent him, with nine Indians, to our camp. His body was naked, and in his hand he

had a bow and arrows. As soon as we perceived them coming we took them for spies, and marched out to meet them, but they fled in every direction. The horsemen dashed after them and wounded one of the Indians, and would have killed the Christian if he had not invoked the Virgin Mary and made signs that he was a Christian, for he had almost forgotten to speak our language. He was immediately conducted to the governor. He stated that he had been twelve years among the Indians, and spoke their language perfectly; but that he was unacquainted with the country, and was unable to tell us anything about it, except that there was no gold in it.

"We now set out from the Port of Baya Honda, to penetrate the interior of the country, with all the troops except twenty-six horsemen and sixty foot soldiers, which we left behind to defend the fort, until they should receive orders from the governor to join him. We marched in a westerly direction, and then northeast. We heard of a cacique who received tribute from all the nations. His name was Hurripacuxi, and lived about twelve leagues from the coast. We continued to march across swamps and rivers for fifteen or twenty leagues, and reached a village about which we had been told strange stories. Among others, they pretended that when the inhabitants shouted aloud, the birds flying in the air would fall dead to the ground. We arrived at a small village called Eto-cale [near the Suwanee]. Here we found some Indian corn, beans, and little dogs, which was not a meal for our hungry army. We remained here seven or eight days, during which time we made an attempt to entrap some Indians, to serve us as guides to the province of Apalache. We then set out in the direction of New Spain, marching ten or twelve leagues from the coast. After five or six days' journey, we passed some hamlets, and arrived at a village called Aquacalecuen, when we found the Indians had fled to the woods.

"We remained here five or six days to procure guides, and took with us ten or twelve women, one of whom

informed us that she was the daughter of a cacique, who afterwards joined us. After six or seven days' journey, we met a hundred and fifty Indians armed with bows and arrows, who were watching an opportunity to rescue the cacique we had brought with us. We killed a few and captured others; among the latter were some who were acquainted with the interior of the country. We then passed a river, and crossed a country called Veachile, where we found a great many deserted villages. We came to a village called Aquile, on the frontier of the province of Apalache, and separated from Veachile by a river [supposed to be the Suwanee], over which we threw a bridge of rafts tied together. We crossed it with difficulty, for the Indians had posted themselves on the opposite bank, and fought with great bravery. We marched to the village of Ivi-ta-chuco, but as soon as the Indians saw us they set fire to their village and fled. The province of Apalache contains many villages, but we found provisions very scarce there. From Apalache we marched to the province of Yustaga. The governor now thought it time to hear from those he had left behind at Baya Honda, as it was not his intention to advance so far into the country as to render it impossible to have any communication with them.

"We had now travelled one hundred and ten leagues. The governor went in search of the sea, which was nine leagues distant. We had now come to that part of the coast where Panfilo de Narvaez had built his vessels. We recognized the spot on which he had built his smithy, and saw a great quantity of horses' bones scattered about. The Indians told us the Christians had built their vessels here. As soon as Juan de Anasco had marked the trees on the shore, the governor ordered him to go to Baya Honda and send forward the troops he had left there, and to return himself by sea with the brigantines to Apalache. As soon as the brigantines had arrived, the governor sent them again to sea, under the command of the Chevalier Francisco Maldonado de Salamanca, to find a port to the east. He

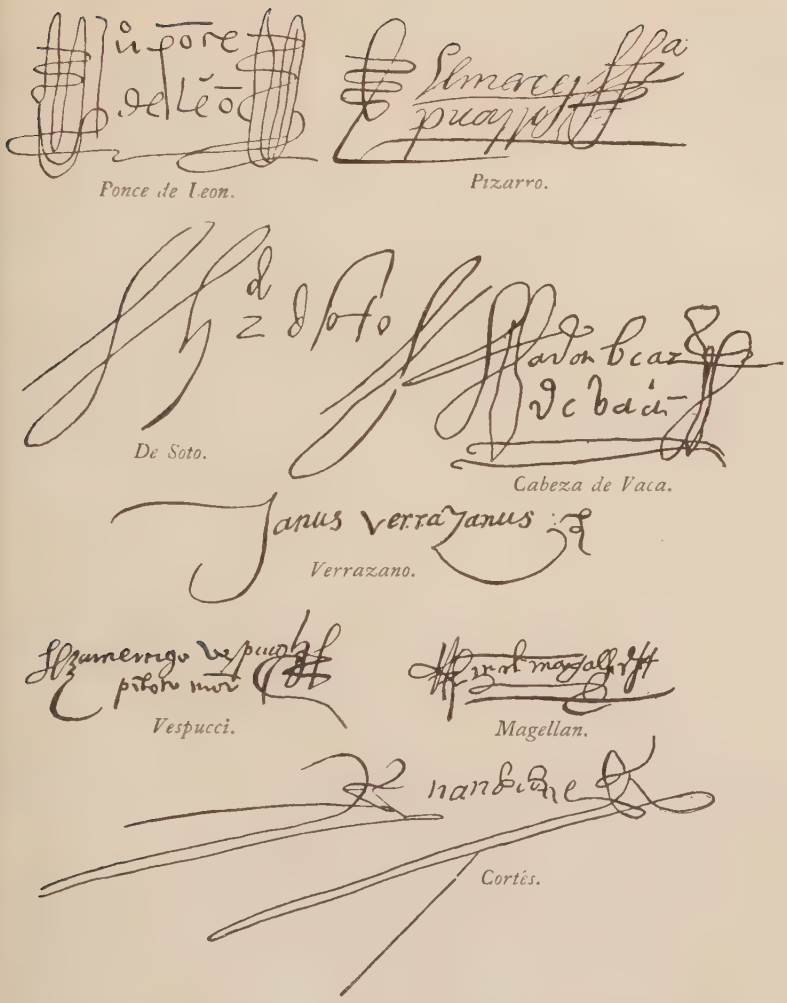
coasted along shore until he reached a bay [probably Pensacola] which had a good harbor. On the bank of the river was an Indian village, some of whose people came to trade with him. He spent two months in making this exploration. As soon as he returned, the governor ordered him to take the brigantines, on board of one of which was Donna Isabella de Bobadilla, to Havana, and on his arrival there, to set sail again with them to the river Santo Espiritu, where he agreed to meet him in six months, if he should not hear from him sooner.

"As soon as the brigantines had set sail for Cuba, we began our march to the north, and journeyed five days through a desert until we came to a large and rapid river, which we crossed over in boats. This province is called Acapachiqui. We observed some villages, but as the country was covered with very extensive swamps, we could not explore them. The Indian huts in this province were differently constructed from those we had previously seen. They were dug in the ground, and resembled caverns, while those we had passed were above ground, and covered with branches of palm trees and straw. We continued our march until we came to two rivers, which we crossed by making rafts of pine trees, and entered a province called Otoa, where we found a much larger village than we had yet seen. We captured some Indians, to serve us as guides and interpreters. We took five or six days to cross this country to a province called Attapaha. Here we found a river which flowed towards the south, like those we had already passed, and emptied into the sea where Vasquez de Ayllon had landed. This province is well peopled. The governor questioned the Indians about the province of Cafitachiqui. They told him it was impossible to get there, as there were no roads, or provisions of any kind which he could obtain, and that he must die of hunger if he attempted it.

"Nevertheless, we continued our march until we came to some caciques (Ocute and Cofoque), who gave us some

provisions, and told us that if we would declare war against the Queen of Cafitachiqui they would furnish us with all that we needed on the road, and warned us that they had no communication with her, as they were at war with her. Seeing that we were resolved on going there, they furnished us with eight hundred Indians to carry our provisions and baggage, and guides who took us in an easterly direction, but after three days we found them deceiving us, nor did we know which road to take to this province. The governor sent men in different directions to find a road, and gave them each ten days to go and come, with orders to report any villages which they might see. Those who went in the direction of south, and southeast, returned four days after, and reported they had found a little hamlet, and some provisions. They brought with them some Indians, who understood our guides, which was very fortunate for us, as we had but few interpreters. We immediately marched for this hamlet, to wait there until the messengers who had gone in the other direction could join us. Here we found fifty *fanegas* of Indian corn, some wheat, and a great many mulberry trees, and other wild fruit. As soon as the other messengers came we set out for the village of Cafitachiqui, which was twelve days' journey from this hamlet, situated on the banks of a river, which we took for the Santa Helena [the Tennessee].

"When we arrived, the queen sent us one of her nieces, in a litter carried by Indians. She sent the governor a present of a necklace of beads, canoes to cross the river with, and gave us half the village to lodge in. The governor opened a large temple built in the woods, in which were buried the chiefs of the country, and took from it a quantity of pearls, amounting to six or seven *arrobas*, which were spoiled by being buried in the ground. We dug up two Spanish axes, a chaplet of wild olive seeds, and some small beads, resembling those we had brought from Spain for the purpose of trading with the Indians. We conjectured they had obtained these things by trading with the



Ponce de Leon.

Pizarro.

De Soto.

Cabeza de Vaca.

Verrazano.

Vespucci.

Magellan.

Cortés.

Facsimiles of the signatures of Ponce de Leon, Pizarro, De Soto, Cabeza de Vaca, Verrazano, Vespucci, Magalhães (Magellan), and Cortés. *From various documents.*

companions of Vasquez de Ayllon. The Indians told us the sea was only about thirty leagues distant. They also informed us that Vasquez de Ayllon had not penetrated far into the country, but had mostly followed the seashore, until his death. That a large number of his soldiers had died of hunger, and out of six hundred who had landed in this country with him only fifty-seven had escaped.

"We remained ten or twelve days in the queen's village, and then set out to explore the country. We marched in a northerly direction eight or ten days, through a mountainous country, where there was but little food, until we reached a province called Xuala [latitude 35° N., the most northerly point of De Soto's travels], which was thinly inhabited. We then ascended to the source of the great river, which we supposed was the Santo Espiritu. At the village of Guasuli, they gave us a great many dogs, and some corn to eat, which served us until we reached a village called Chisca, where we found an abundance of provisions. It is built on an island in the Santo Espiritu River, and near its source. The Indians live here in walled villages, and make a great deal of oil from nuts. We remained here twenty-six or seven days, to rest our horses, which had become very thin. We continued our march along this river, until we arrived in the province of Costehe, where the villages were likewise built on the islands of the river. The province of Coca is one of the best countries we have seen in Florida. The cacique came to meet us, borne in a litter, and accompanied by a numerous train. But the next morning his followers deserted him. We kept the cacique a prisoner until he agreed to furnish us with Indians to carry our baggage. In this country we found prunes resembling those of Spain, and vines which produced excellent grapes.

"Leaving this province, we marched west and southwest for five or six days. We passed a great number of villages, and at the end of that time we entered the province called Italisi. The inhabitants fled in every direction; but the

cacique came soon after, and presented us with twenty-six or twenty-seven women, and some deerskins. We then proceeded south, and, passing through some villages, we arrived in the province of Tuscalusa, whose cacique was of such a height that we took him for a giant. On arriving at his village we gave him a tournament, and offered him other amusements, of which he took no notice. We requested him to give us some Indians to carry our baggage, which he refused with a sneer. The governor then took him a prisoner, which greatly enraged him, and was the cause of his treachery to us afterwards. He told us that he could not give us anything here, but we must go to his village, called Mauvila, where he would furnish us with all the provisions we stood in need of. We came to a large river, which empties into the bay called Chuse. The Indians informed us that Narvaez's vessels had touched here for water, and left a Christian called Teodoro, who was still among the Indians. They showed us a poignard which had belonged to him. We took two days to construct a raft to cross the river. In the meantime the Indians killed one of the governor's guard. The governor punished the cacique for it, and threatened to burn him alive if he did not deliver up the murderers. He then promised to deliver them up at Mauvila. This cacique had a number of servants with him. He had one to brush off the flies, and another to carry a sunshade.

"We arrived at Mauvila at nine o'clock in the morning. It was a village built on a plain, and surrounded by strong walls. On the outside the Indians had pulled down their huts, so as not to embarrass them. Some of the chiefs met us and told us we could encamp on the plain, but the governor preferred going with them into the town. We saw only three or four hundred Indians, who entertained us with dancing and feasting, but there were hid in the town five or six thousand men, to surprise us. After the dancing was over, the cacique retired into one of his huts. The governor requested him to come out, which he refused to do. The

captain of the governor's guard went in after him, and found it filled with warriors armed with bows and arrows. He reported to the governor what he had seen, and told him that he suspected they were going to commit some treason. The governor then sent for another cacique, who also refused to come. The Indians now began to shoot their arrows from the loopholes in their houses, while others discharged them from the outside. We were not upon our guard, as we had supposed them friends, and consequently we suffered severely. We retreated to the outside of the village. Our baggage remained where it had been thrown down, and as soon as the Indians discovered we had fled they shut the gates of the village and commenced to pillage our baggage.

"The governor ordered sixty or eighty horsemen to arrange themselves into four platoons and attack the village in four different places. He directed the first who should enter the village to set fire to the houses, while the rest of the soldiers were ordered not to let any escape. We fought from morning till night, without a single Indian asking for quarter. When night came, only three Indians were found left, guarding the twenty women who had danced before us. Two of these were killed, and the other, ascending a tree, took the string from his bow and hanged himself from one of the limbs. We lost twenty men killed, and had two hundred and fifty wounded. During the night we dressed the wounded with the fat of the slain Indians, because our medicine was burnt with the baggage. We remained here twenty-seven or twenty-eight days, until the wounded could recover. We then departed, taking with us the women, whom we distributed among the wounded to nurse them.

"The Indians had told us we were more than forty leagues from the sea. We desired the governor to approach it, so that we might get some news from the brigantines, but he dared not do it, as it was now already in the middle of November, and he wished to find a country where there were provisions, and where we could go into winter quarters. We

marched north ten or twelve days, suffering intensely from the cold, until at length we reached a fertile province, where we went into winter quarters. The cold here is greater than in Spain. This province is called Chicaca. The Indians defended the rivers we had to cross, but afterwards they fled to the woods. In seven or eight days after, the cacique sent envoys to the governor. They were well received by him, and he sent word to the cacique to present himself. The cacique came in a litter, and brought with him rabbits, and whatever he could procure in the country, to give us to eat. At night we surprised some Indians who pretended they had come into our camp to see how we slept. Suspecting their motives, we increased our guards. As these Indians knew how we had placed our guards, three hundred entered the village and set fire to it. They killed fifty-seven horses, three hundred hogs, and thirteen or fourteen of our men, and afterwards fled.

"We remained here the next day, in a very bad condition. We had a few horses left, but we had no saddles, lances, or shields, for all had been burnt. In five days after, the Indians renewed the attack. They marched to battle in great order, and attacked us on three sides. We went out to meet them, and put them to flight. We sojourned here two months, during which time we made saddles, lances, and shields, after which we marched to the northwest, until we reached the province of Alibamo. Here the Indians had built a strong palisade, and had three hundred men to defend it, with orders to die rather than to let us pass through. As soon as we perceived the warriors behind the palisade, we thought they had provisions, or something valuable behind it. We were in great want of provisions, and knew that we had to cross a great desert before we could find any. We therefore arranged ourselves into two divisions, and attacked the enemy. We carried the palisade, but we lost seven or eight men, and had twenty-five wounded. We found enough provisions behind the palisade to last us our journey of ten or twelve days through

the desert. The wounded and sick gave us a great deal of trouble, and on the last day we very unexpectedly entered a village called Quiz Quiz. The people here were poor and miserable, and were working their corn fields when we entered it. The village was built on the banks of the Santo Espiritu. It was tributary, like many others, to the sovereign of Pacaha.

"We left the village, to encamp on the banks of the river. Here we found the Indians had gathered to dispute our passage. They had with them a great number of canoes. We remained here twenty-eight or twenty-nine days, and built four large pirogues, capable of containing seventy or eighty men each, and five or six horses. In the meantime, every day, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Indians got into two hundred and fifty canoes, dressed with flags, and approached our side of the river to shoot their arrows at us, but as soon as we had finished our pirogues they made a precipitate retreat. The river [Mississippi] here was about a league wide, and from nineteen to twenty fathoms deep. We ascended this river to the province of Pacaha, but before we arrived there we came to another province, whose sovereign was named Yeasqui. He came to us and professed a great deal of friendship, but he was at war with the nation we had just left. He was well received by the governor, and that night we encamped on a plain in sight of his village, where we remained two days. The caciques of this country make a custom of raising, near their dwellings, very high hills, on which they sometimes build their huts. On one of these we planted the cross, and went with much devotion on our knees to kiss the foot of it. On the same evening we returned to our camp, and on the following morning we set out for Pacaha. We journeyed two days, and reached a village in the midst of a plain surrounded by walls, and a ditch filled with water, which had been made by the Indians. We approached it cautiously, and when we got near it we saw the inhabitants going off. We entered it without any trouble, and took a few Indians. While

we remained here the cacique whom we had left behind us joined us, with a numerous troop of Indians, and offered to assist us. The governor received him graciously, and presented him with all the treasures we had found in the village, after which he went away quietly.

"We remained at this village twenty-six or twenty-seven days, anxious to learn if we could take the northern route, and cross to the South Sea. We then marched northeast, where we were told we would find large towns. We travelled eight days through swamps, after which we met a troop of Indians who lived under movable tents. They informed us that there were other tribes like themselves, who pitched their tents wherever they found deer, and carried their tents and provisions with them on their backs from place to place. We next came to the province of Calusi. The natives attend but little to the cultivation of the land, and live principally on fish and game. Seeing there was no way of reaching the South Sea, we returned to the north, and afterwards in a southwest direction, to a province called Quigata [near Little Rock, Arkansas], where we found the largest village we had yet seen in our travels. It was situated on one of the branches of a great river. We remained here six or eight days to procure guides and interpreters, with the intention of finding the sea. The Indians informed us there was a province, eleven days off, where they killed buffaloes, and where we could find guides to conduct us to the sea.

"We set out for this province, which they called Coligua. There was no road leading to it, and every day brought us to a swamp, where we feasted on fish. We then crossed vast plains and high mountains, when suddenly we came to the town of Coligua, where we found an abundance of provisions and a quantity of dry hides. We inquired here for other villages, and they directed us to go west and southwest and we should find them. We accordingly followed their direction, and came to some scattered villages bearing the name of Tatel Coya. Here we found a large

river [St. Francis], emptying into the Rio Grande. We were told that if we were to ascend this river we should find a large province called Cayas. We repaired thither, and found it a mountainous country, and composed of populous villages. We then set out for the province of Tula to go into winter quarters. But before reaching it we had to cross very high mountains. We came to an Indian village, where they defended themselves so bravely that we lost seven or eight men and as many horses. The following morning the governor took guides, and ordered the troops to be in readiness to march to the next province, which the Indians called Quipana, situated at the foot of very high mountains. From thence we turned towards the east, and crossing these mountains we descended into an inhabited plain, favorable to our designs, and where there was a large village built on the banks of a river [the Arkansas] which emptied into the great river we had passed. This province was called Vicanque. Here we went into winter quarters, and suffered so much from the cold and snow that we thought we should all have perished.

"The Christian whom we took, and who had served us as an interpreter, died in this place. In the beginning of March we descended this river, passing through populous provinces, until we came at last to a country the Indians called Anicoyanque. A cacique called Guachoyanque came to see us. He lived on the banks of the Great River. The governor set out immediately with the cacique for the village of Guachoyanque. His village was fortified and well surrounded by walls. At this place the governor had determined to build some brigantines to send to Cuba, to let them know that he was still alive. He sent his captain to find out the direction of the sea. He returned in a few days, saying that the vast swamps which the Great River had formed prevented him from doing so. At length the governor, finding his situation becoming every day more embarrassing, and his affairs going wrong, fell sick and died. He appointed Luis de Moscoso his successor. Not finding

any way of reaching the sea by the Great River, Luis de Moscoso determined on going by land to Mexico. When we set out, we travelled twenty-seven days in a westerly direction to the province of Chaviti, where the Indians made salt. From thence we went in three days to the province of Aguacay.

"The Indians told us here that the country beyond was a wilderness and uninhabited. That to find villages we must go towards the southeast. We then came to a province called Nissione, then to Naudacho and Lacame. We made inquiries here about the province of Xuacatino. The cacique of Naudacho gave us a guide to conduct us through the country. He led us accordingly into a wilderness, and when we got there he told us that his master had ordered him to take us to a country where we should die with hunger. We now took another guide, who conducted us to the province of Hais, where we saw buffaloes, but the Indians prevented us from killing them. We came to Xuacatino, and passed some small villages, without finding any provisions. We then returned towards the south, determined to die or reach New Spain. We continued to march in this direction eight or nine days more, hoping to provide ourselves with provisions for the journey. We arrived at last at some miserable huts, where the Indians lived by hunting and fishing, and, finding that our corn must soon give out, we resolved to return to the village where Governor de Soto had died, to build some vessels to return to our country. But when we arrived there we did not find the facilities we had expected, and were obliged to seek another place, to go into winter quarters and build our vessels.

"God permitted us to find two villages to suit our purposes, upon the Great River. These villages were fortified. We remained here six months to build seven brigantines. We launched them on the river, and it was a miracle they did not leak. They sailed well, although they were calked with the thin bark of mulberry trees. When we embarked the troops, we intended, if we could find a village on the

seashore, to stop there until we could send two brigantines with despatches to the Viceroy of New Spain, to send us vessels to return in to Spain. On the second day out, as we were descending the river, some forty or fifty canoes came towards us, in one of which were eighty warriors. They shot arrows at us, and captured some of the small canoes we had taken with us, in which were twelve of our best soldiers. The current of the river was so rapid that we could not go to their assistance. Encouraged by this victory, the Indians continued to harass us until we reached the sea, which took us nineteen days. They soon discovered that we had neither arquebuses nor crossbows to reach them. The only arms we had were some swords and shields, consequently they had nothing to fear from us. We entered the sea through one of the mouths of the river, and for three days and nights we could not see land, but after that we came in sight of it, and took in some water to drink. At length we perceived towards the west some small islands, which we followed, keeping close to the shore, to find something to eat, until we entered the river Panuco, where we were kindly received by the inhabitants."

The wanderings of De Soto and his men covered a period of four long and miserable years over the southern part of what is now the United States, including, probably, portions of the territory of the States of Florida, Georgia, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas. It was in 1541 that they reached Mississippi River, his company being the first white men to gaze on its tawny flood above the mouth. If De Soto failed to achieve the object of his undertaking, if the rich countries he hoped to find had eluded his quest and he was denied the honor of crossing the great continent to which all eyes were turned, yet he lifted, over a large area, the veil of mystery that shrouded it, and gave a definite knowledge to the world of what lay behind the coast line that his predecessors had traced, and his name will forever be linked with those of the pioneers of western discovery.

CHAPTER XII

THE VOYAGE OF VERRAZANO FOR THE FRENCH

CONTRARY to her usual conduct in the great affairs of human history, France was dilatory in taking part in the discoveries in the New World. She saw the kings of England patronizing expeditions which added continents to the known world; she saw Portugal annexing Brazil, as well as the West Coast of Africa, to her realm; she saw Spain carving out for herself in America domains teeming with unexampled wealth, before she made any move to take part in these enterprises. It was not until the year 1523 that France, as a nation, became awakened to the possibilities of the west. But though her rulers and leading men were absorbed in other interests, the hardy mariners of Brittany and the coast of Normandy were early led to turn their prows in the wake of Cabot and the Cortereals. Ramusio tells us that in 1504 the land now known as Nova Scotia and Cape Breton was discovered by fishermen from the northwest coast of France, and that the name "Cape Breton" is the seal and proof of both their patriotism and their enterprise. The reports which John Cabot brought home of the codfish that teemed in the waters off Newfoundland and Labrador soon reached the fishermen of Dieppe and Honfleur, and they immediately proceeded to further the investigations in which the English and the Portuguese had taken the lead. It was not long before it became so customary for vessels from Brittany and Normandy to frequent those shores, that it seemed to the people

of these seafaring provinces that such had been their wont from time immemorial, and in consequence a tradition arose that their fishermen had not waited to be shown the way to the west by Columbus and Cabot.

But the first authenticated French voyage to North American shores was undertaken in 1506, when a vessel sailed thither from Honfleur under the command of Jean Denis, with Gamart of Rouen as pilot, but this is all the information we have regarding this expedition. Ramusio also says: "The people of Dieppe continued their commercial intercourse with the West Indies. When they heard of the discoveries which the Spaniards had made in America, they found their emulation incited, and they equipped two vessels to discover whether that part of the world did not extend its coast to the north. They intrusted the command of the ships to two of their most skilful captains, named Thomas Aubert and Jean Verassen. These two ships sailed from Dieppe at the beginning of the year 1508, and discovered the same year the river which they named the St. Lawrence in honor of the martyred Roman saint. They explored the river for more than eighty leagues, finding the inhabitants friendly, with whom they made very profitable exchanges for peltries."—(Ramusio, iii, 359.) The "Jean Verassen" who was the subordinate commander in this voyage is the Verrazano who was afterward to make himself so famous by a voyage which had the same importance for France that the expeditions of Cabot had for England.

Aubert and Verrazano, besides the peltries, brought back from the New World specimens of its human inhabitants, as we learn from a work printed in Paris in 1512, wherein, coupled with the date 1509, it is stated: "Seven wild men were brought from that island (which is called the New Land) to Rouen with their canoe, clothing, and weapons. They are of a sooty color, with thick lips, and bearing marks on the face drawn like blue veins along the cheek-bones from the ear to the middle of the chin; with black hair and coarse like a horse's mane; having no beard

throughout the whole life; no hair on any part of the body, except on the head and eyebrows. They wear a girdle to cover their nakedness, in which girdle is a sort of pouch; they form a dialect with their lips; religion they have none. Their canoe is bark, which a man can lift on his shoulders with one hand. Their weapons are large bows, the strings being intestines or sinews of animals; their arrows are canes barbed with flint or fish-bone. Of bread and wine and money they have not the least use. They go naked or clad in the skins of beasts,—bears, deer, sea-calves, and the like. Their country, parallel to the seventh climate, is nearer the West [the coast of Ireland] than France is farther from it."—(*Eusebii chronicon*, Paris, 1512, 172.)

With the exception of the fishing expeditions and such sporadic voyages as that of Aubert, nothing was attempted in the way of American discovery by France until the reign of Francis I. Lescarbot, in his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, gives an account of how Baron de Léry, in 1518, attempted to colonize Sable Island, but the only result was that, for many years, the descendants of the cattle and pigs he conveyed there had the island in sole possession.

In 1523, all Europe was disturbed by a war between Francis I. and Charles V. The former sought to harass his enemy by preying upon his ships, especially those returning laden with the spoils of the West Indies, for which work he commissioned Verrazano, who was one of the most experienced navigators of Dieppe, having, as we have seen, made a voyage to the New World. Verrazano quickly justified his sovereign's choice, for he fell in with the ship in which Cortés was sending to Charles V. the spoils of Montezuma's palace. This he captured, and was thereby enabled to carry to the French king a present to the value of one million five hundred thousand dollars. The amount of this treasure opened the eyes of Francis to the extent of the resources which Spain had procured for herself by her newly discovered acquisitions in the west. He realized that the indifference of France to American exploration was

a disadvantageous policy. Determined to share at first hand in these gains, he addressed a letter to Charles, in his light-hearted fashion, begging for information as to why he was left out when the world was divided between Spain and Portugal. He inquired if Father Adam had left a last will and testament designating those two as his sole heirs.—(See Bernal Diaz, *Historia de la Conquista de Nueva España*, Madrid, 1632, chap. 169.)

Not receiving any satisfactory answer to this inquiry, Francis decided to despatch Verrazano to the West Indies, to make discoveries to the advantage of France. This famous navigator was born near Florence, about the year 1480. His family was of noble extraction, but Giovanni was of too adventurous a disposition to remain on the ancestral lands, hence he early took to the sea and travelled to many parts. We hear of him trafficking in Egypt and in Syria; and as early as 1505 we find him in the maritime service of France, in which, as has already been noticed, he gained his first experience of American seas in 1508. The commission of Francis I., under which he sailed from the Madeira Islands on January 17, 1524, directed him not only to search for undiscovered lands yielding gold and precious stones, but also to look for a passage, north of Florida, opening into the sea of Cathay. The result of his voyage was the exploration of the greater part of the eastern coast line of the United States, including Narragansett Bay and New York harbor. It should be stated that no documents or evidence have been found in the archives of France corroborating the account of Verrazano's voyage as it is set forth in the following letter. For this reason its genuineness has been disputed; but all objections have been ably and successfully answered by J. Carson Brevoort in his *Verrazano the Navigator*. A letter has been found among the diplomatic correspondence of Portugal, written by João da Silveyra, who was sent as ambassador to France by John III. of Portugal, wherein it is said "By what I hear, Messer João Verazano, who is going on the discovery of Cathay,

has not left up to this date for want of opportunity, and because of differences, I understand, between himself and men; and on this point, although knowing nothing positively, I have written my doubts in accompanying letters. I shall continue to doubt, unless he take his departure." The ambassador was endeavoring, by secret means, to prevent the sailing of Verrazano; but the commander got off with four vessels late in 1523. As appears, however, in the following account, three of the ships were disabled by heavy storms, and he eventually sailed on the 17th of January, 1524, with the *Dolphin* alone. We will let the bold navigator tell his own story, as given in his letter:

"To his most Serene Majesty, the King of France:

"Since the tempests which we encountered on the northern coasts, I have not written to your most Serene and Christian Majesty concerning the four ships sent out by your orders on the ocean to discover new lands, because I thought you must have been before apprised of all that had happened to us; that we had been compelled, by the impetuous violence of the winds, to put into Brittany in distress, with only the two ships *Normandy* and *Dolphin;* and that, after having repaired these ships, we made a cruise in them, well armed, along the coast of Spain, as your Majesty must have heard; and also of our new plan of continuing our begun voyage with the *Dolphin* alone. From this voyage being now returned, I proceed to give your Majesty an account of our discoveries.

"On the 17th of last January we set sail from a desolate rock near the island of Madeira, belonging to his most Serene Majesty the King of Portugal, with fifty men; having provisions sufficient for eight months, arms, and other warlike munitions and naval stores. Sailing westward with a light and pleasant easterly breeze, in twenty-five days we ran eight hundred leagues. On the 24th of February we encountered as violent a hurricane as any ship ever weathered, from which we escaped unhurt by the Divine

assistance and goodness, to the praise of the glorious and fortunate name of our good ship, that had been able to support the violent tossing of the waves. Pursuing our voyage towards the west, a little northwardly, in twenty-four days more, having run four hundred leagues, we reached a new country, which had never before been seen by any one either in ancient or modern times. At first it appeared to be very low, but on approaching it to within a quarter of a league from the shore, we perceived, by the great fires near the coast, that it was inhabited. We perceived that it stretched to the south, and coasted along in that direction in search of some port in which we might come to an anchor and examine into the nature of the country; but for fifty leagues we could find none in which we could lie securely. Seeing the coast still stretched to the south, we resolved to change our course and stand to the northward; and as we still had the same difficulty, we drew in with the land, and sent a boat on shore. Many people who were seen coming to the seaside fled at our approach; but occasionally stopping, they looked back upon us with astonishment, and some were at length induced by various friendly signs to come to us. These showed the greatest delight on beholding us, wondering at our dress, countenances, and complexion. They then showed us by signs where we could more conveniently secure our boat, and offered us some of their provisions. That your Majesty may know all that we learned, while on shore, of their manners and customs of life, I will relate what we saw as briefly as possible. They go entirely naked except that about the loins they wear skins of small animals, like martens, fastened by a girdle of plaited grass, to which they tie, all round the body, the tails of other animals, hanging down to the knees. All other parts of the body and the head are naked. Some wear garlands similar to birds' feathers.

"The complexion of these people is black, not much different from that of the Ethiopians. Their hair is black, and thick, and not very long; it is worn tied back upon the

Plan of Tenochtitlan (City of Mexico) at the time of the conquest. From the Latin version of Cortés's Second Letter, printed at Nuremberg in 1524. *From the original in the New York Public Library, Lenox Branch.*

head, in the form of a little tail. In person they are of good proportions, of middle stature, a little above our own; broad across the breast, strong in the arms, and well formed in the legs and other parts of the body. The only exception to their good looks is that they have broad faces; but not all, however, as we saw many that had sharp ones, with large black eyes and a fixed expression. They are not very strong in body, but acute in mind, active and swift of foot, as far as we could judge by observation. In these last two particulars they resemble the people of the East, especially those the most remote. We could not learn a great many particulars of their usages, on account of our short stay among them and the distance of our ship from the shore.

"We found not far from this people another, whose mode of life we judged to be similar. The whole shore is covered with fine sand, about fifteen feet thick, rising in the form of little hills, about fifty paces broad. Ascending farther, we found several arms of the sea, which make in through inlets, washing the shores on both sides as the coast runs. An outstretched country appears at a little distance, rising somewhat above the sandy shore, in beautiful fields and broad plains, covered with immense forests of trees more or less dense, too various in colors and too delightful and charming in appearance to be described. I do not believe that they are like the Hercynian forest, or the rough wilds of Scythia; and the northern regions full of vines and common trees; but adorned with palms, laurels, cypresses, and other varieties, unknown in Europe; that send forth the sweetest fragrance to a great distance; but which we could not examine more closely for the reasons before given, and not on account of any difficulty in traversing the woods; which on the contrary, are easily penetrated.

"As the 'East' stretches around this country, I think it cannot be devoid of the same medicinal and aromatic drugs, and various riches of gold and the like, as is denoted by the color of the ground. It abounds also in animals, as deer,

stags, hares, and many other similar, and with a great variety of birds for every kind of pleasant and delightful sport. It is plentifully supplied with lakes and ponds of running water; and being in the latitude of 34°, the air is salubrious, pure, and temperate, and free from the extremes of both heat and cold. There are no violent winds in these regions; the most prevalent are the northwest and west. In summer, the season in which we were there, the sky is clear, with but little rain. If fogs and mists are at any time driven in by the south wind, they are instantaneously dissipated, and at once it becomes serene and bright again. The sea is calm, not boisterous, and its waves are gentle. Although the whole coast is low and without harbors, it is not dangerous for navigation, being free from rocks, and bold, so that, within four or five fathoms from the shore, there is twenty-four feet of water at all times of tide; and this depth constantly increases in a uniform proportion. The holding ground is so good that no ship can part her cable, however violent the wind, as we proved by experience; for while riding at anchor on the coast, we were overtaken by a gale in the beginning of March, when the winds are high, as is usual in all countries; we found our anchor broken before it started from its hold or moved at all.

"We set sail from this place, continuing to coast along the shore, which we found stretching out to the west [east?]; the inhabitants being numerous, we saw everywhere a multitude of fires. While at anchor on this coast, there being no harbor to enter, we sent the boat on shore with twenty-five men, to obtain water; but it was not possible to land without endangering the boat, on account of the immense high surf thrown up by the sea, as it was an open roadstead. Many of the natives came to the beach, indicating, by various friendly signs, that we might trust ourselves on shore. One of their noble deeds of friendship deserves to be made known to your Majesty. A young sailor was attempting to swim ashore through the surf, to carry them some knickknacks, as little bells, looking glasses, and other

like trifles; when he came near three or four of them he tossed the things to them, and turned about to get back to the boat; but he was thrown over by the waves, and so dashed by them, that he lay, as it were, dead upon the beach. When these people saw him in this situation, they ran and took him by the head, legs, and arms, and carried him to a distance from the surf. The young man, finding himself borne off in this way, uttered very loud shrieks in fear and dismay, while they answered as they could in their own language, showing him that he had no cause for fear. Afterwards they laid him down at the foot of a little hill, when they took off his shirt and trousers and examined him, expressing the greatest astonishment at the whiteness of his skin. Our sailors in the boat, seeing a great fire made up and their companion placed very near it,—full of fear, as is usual in all cases of novelty,—imagined that the natives were about to roast him for food. But as soon as he had recovered his strength, after a short stay with them, showing by signs that he wished to return aboard, they hugged him with great affection, and accompanied him to the shore, then leaving him that he might feel more secure, they withdrew to a little hill, from which they watched him until he was safe in the boat. This young man remarked that these people were black like the others; that they had shining skins, middle stature, and sharper faces, and very delicate bodies and limbs; and that they were inferior in strength, but quick in their minds; that is all that he observed of them.

"Departing hence, and always following the shore, which stretched to the north, we came, in the space of fifty leagues, to another land, which appeared very beautiful and full of large forests. We approached it, and going ashore with twenty men, we went back from the coast about two leagues, and found that the people had fled and hid themselves in the woods for fear. By searching around, we discovered in the grass a very old woman and a young girl about eighteen or twenty, who had concealed themselves

for the same reason. The old woman carried two infants on her shoulders, and behind her neck a little boy eight years of age. When we came up to them they began to shriek and make signs to the men who had fled to the woods. We gave them a part of our provisions, which they accepted with delight; but the girl would not touch any, everything we offered to her being thrown down in great anger. We took the little boy from the old woman to carry with us to France, and would have taken the girl also, who was very beautiful and very tall; but it was impossible because of the loud shrieks she uttered as we attempted to lead her away. Having to pass some woods, and being far from the ship, we determined to leave her and take the boy only. We found them fairer than the others, and wearing a covering made of certain plants which hung down from the branches of the trees, tying them together with threads of wild hemp. Their heads are without covering and of the same shape as the others. Their food is a kind of pulse, which there abounds; different in color and size from ours, and of a very delicious flavor. Besides, they take birds and fish for food, using snares, and bows made of hard wood, with reeds for arrows, in the ends of which they put the bones of fish and other animals. The animals in these regions are wilder than in Europe, from being continually molested by the hunters. We saw many of their boats, made of one tree, twenty feet long and four feet broad, without the aid of stone, of iron, or other kind of metal. In the whole country, for the space of two hundred leagues, which we visited, we saw no stone of any sort. To hollow out their boats, they burn out as much of a log as is requisite, and also from the prow and stern, to make them float well on the sea. The land, in situation, fertility, and beauty, is like the other; abounding also in forests, filled with various kinds of trees; but not of such fragrance, as it is more northern and colder.

"We saw in this country many vines, growing naturally, which entwine about the trees and run up upon them as

they do in the plains of Lombardy. These vines would doubtless produce excellent wine if they were properly cultivated and attended to, as we have often seen the grapes which they produce very sweet and pleasant, and not unlike our own. They must be held in estimation by them, as they carefully remove the shrubbery from around them wherever they grow, to allow the fruit to ripen better. We found also wild roses, violets, lilies, and many sorts of plants and fragrant flowers different from our own. We cannot describe their habitations, as they are in the interior of the country, but from various indications we conclude they must be formed of trees and shrubs. We saw also many grounds for conjecturing that they often sleep in the open air, without any covering but the sky. Of their other usages we know nothing; we believe, however, that all the people we were among live in the same way.

"After having remained here three days, riding at anchor on the coast, as we could find no harbor, we determined to depart, and coast along the shore to the northeast, keeping sail on the vessel only by day, and coming to anchor by night. After proceeding one hundred leagues, we found a very pleasant situation among some steep hills, through which a very large river [the Hudson], deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea; from the sea to the estuary of the river, any ship heavily laden might pass, with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet. But as we were riding at anchor in a good berth, we would not venture up in our vessel, without a knowledge of the mouth; therefore, we took the boat, and, entering the river, we found the country on its banks well peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the others, being dressed out with the feathers of birds of various colors. They came towards us with evident delight, raising loud shouts of admiration, and showing us where we could most securely land with our boat. We passed up this river about half a league, when we found it formed a most beautiful lake [New York harbor], three leagues in circuit, upon which they were

rowing thirty or more of their small boats, from one shore to the other, filled with multitudes who came to see us. All of a sudden, as is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea, and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed must also contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of minerals. Weighing anchor, we sailed eighty leagues towards the east, as the coast stretched in that direction, and always in sight of it; at length we discovered an island of a triangular form, about ten leagues from the mainland, in size about equal to the island of Rhodes, having many hills covered with trees, and well peopled, judging from the great number of fires which we saw all around its shores; we gave it the name of your Majesty's mother.

"We did not land there, as the weather was unfavorable, but proceeded to another place, fifteen leagues distant from the island, where we found a very excellent harbor. Before entering it, we saw about twenty small boats full of people, who came about our ship, uttering many cries of astonishment, but they would not approach nearer than within fifty paces; stopping, they looked at the structure of our ship, our persons and dress, afterwards they all raised a loud shout together, signifying that they were pleased. By imitating their signs, we inspired them in some measure with confidence, so that they came near enough for us to toss to them some little bells and glasses, and many toys, which they took and looked at, laughing, and then came on board without fear; among them were two kings, more beautiful in form and stature than can possibly be described; one was about forty years old, the other about twenty-four, and they were dressed in the following manner: the oldest had a deer's skin around his body, artificially wrought in damask figures; his head was without covering, his hair was tied back in various knots; around his neck he wore a large chain ornamented with many stones of different colors.

The young man was similar in his general appearance. This is the finest-looking tribe, and the handsomest in costumes, that we have found in our voyage. They exceed us in size, and they are of a very fair complexion; some of them incline more to a white [bronze], and others to a tawny color; their faces are sharp, their hair long and black, upon the adorning of which they bestow great pains; their eyes are black and sharp, their expression mild and pleasant, greatly resembling the antique. I say nothing to your Majesty of the other parts of the body, which are all in a good proportion, and such as belong to well-formed men. Their women are of the same form and beauty, very graceful, of fine countenances and pleasing appearance in manners and modesty; they wear no clothing except a deer skin, ornamented like those worn by the men; some wear very rich lynx skins upon their arms, and various ornaments upon their heads, composed of braids of hair, which also hang down upon their breasts on each side; others wear different ornaments, such as the women of Egypt and Syria use. The older and the married people, both men and women, wear many ornaments in their ears, hanging down in the Oriental manner. We saw upon them several pieces of wrought copper, which is more esteemed by them than gold, as this is not valued, on account of its color, but is considered by them as the most ordinary of the metals,—yellow being the color especially disliked by them; azure and red are those in highest estimation with them. Of those things which we gave them, they prized most highly the bells, azure crystals, and other toys to hang in their ears and about their necks; they do not value or care to have silk or gold stuffs, or other kind of cloth, or implements of steel or iron. When we showed them our arms, they expressed no admiration, and only asked how they were made; the same was the case with the looking glasses, which they returned to us, smiling, as soon as they had looked at them. They are very generous, giving away whatever they have. We formed a

great friendship with them, and one day we entered into the port with our ship, having before rode at the distance of a league from the shore, as the weather was adverse. They came off to the ship with a number of their little boats, with their faces painted in divers colors, showing us real signs of joy, bringing us of their provisions, and signifying to us where we could best ride in safety with our ship, and keeping with us until we had cast anchor. We remained among them fifteen days, to provide ourselves with many things of which we were in want; during this time they came every day to see our ship, bringing with them their wives, of whom they were very careful; for although they came on board themselves, and remained a long while, they made their wives stay in the boats, nor could we ever get them on board by entreaties or any presents we could make them. One of the two kings often came with his queen and many attendants, to see us for his amusements, but he always stopped at the distance of about two hundred paces, and sent a boat to inform us of his intended visit, saying they would come and see our ship,—this was done for safety, and as soon as they had an answer from us they came off, and remained a while to look around; but on hearing the annoying cries of the sailors, the king sent his queen, with her attendants, in a very light boat, to wait, near an island a quarter of a league distant from us, while he remained a long time on board, talking with us by signs and expressing his fanciful notions about everything in the ship, and asking the use of all. After imitating our modes of salutation, and tasting our food, he courteously took leave of us. Sometimes, when our men stayed two or three days on a small island near the ship for their various necessities, as sailors are wont to do, he came with seven or eight of his attendants to inquire about our movements, often asking us if we intended to remain long, and offering us everything at his command; and then he would shoot with his bow, and run up and down with his people, making great sport for us. We often went five or six leagues into

the interior, and found the country as pleasant as is possible to conceive, adapted to cultivation of every kind, whether of corn, wine or oil; there are often plains twenty-five or thirty leagues in extent, entirely free from trees or other hindrances, and of so great fertility, that whatever is sown there will yield an excellent crop. On entering the woods, we observed that they might all be traversed by an army ever so numerous; the trees of which they were composed were oaks, cypresses, and others unknown in Europe. We found also apples, plums, filberts, and many other fruits, but all of a different kind from ours. The animals, which are in great numbers, as stags, deer, lynxes, and many other species, are taken by snares and by bows, the latter being their chief implement; their arrows are wrought with great beauty, and for the heads of them they use emery, jasper, hard marble, and other sharp stones in cutting down trees, and with them they construct their boats of single logs, hollowed out with admirable skill, and sufficiently commodious to contain ten or twelve persons; their oars are short, and broad at the end, and are managed in rowing by force of the arms alone, with perfect security, and as nimbly as they choose. We saw their dwellings, which are of a circular form, of about ten or twelve paces in circumference, made of logs split in halves, without any regularity in architecture, and covered with roofs of straw, nicely put on, which protect them from wind and rain. There is no doubt that they would build stately edifices if they had workmen as skilful as ours; for the whole seacoast abounds in shining stones, crystals, and alabaster, and for the same reason it has posts and retreats for animals. They change their habitations from place to place as circumstances of situation and season may require. This is easily done, as they have only to take with them their mats, and they have other houses prepared at once. The father and the whole family dwell together in one house in great numbers; in some we saw twenty-five or thirty persons. Their food is pulse, as with the other tribes; which is here better than

elsewhere, and more carefully cultivated. In the time of sowing they are governed by the moon, the sprouting of grain, and many other ancient usages. They live by hunting and fishing, and they are long-lived. If they fall sick, they cure themselves without medicine, by the heat of the fire; and their death at last comes from extreme old age. We judge them to be very affectionate and charitable towards their relatives, making loud lamentations in their adversity, and in their misery calling to mind all their good fortune. At their departure out of life, their relations mutually join in weeping, mingled with singing, for a long while. This is all that we could learn of them.

"This region is situated in the parallel of Rome, being 41° 40′ of north latitude; but much colder, from accidental circumstances, and not by nature, as I shall hereafter explain to your Majesty, and confine myself at present to the description of its local situation. It looks toward the south, on which side the harbor is half of a league broad [probably Newport]; afterwards, upon entering it, the extent between the coast and north is twelve leagues; and then enlarging itself, it forms a very large bay, twenty leagues in circumference, in which are five small islands of great fertility and beauty, covered with large and lofty trees. Among these islands any fleet, however large, might ride safely, without fear of tempests or other dangers. Turning towards the south, at the entrance of the harbor, on both sides, there are very pleasant hills, and many streams of clear water which flow down to the sea. In the midst of the entrance there is a rock of freestone, formed by nature, and suitable for the construction of any kind of machine or bulwark for the defence of the harbor.

"Having supplied ourselves with everything necessary, on the fifth of May we departed from the port, and sailed one hundred and fifty leagues, keeping so close to the coast as never to lose it from our sight. The nature of the country appeared much the same as before; but the mountains were a little higher, and all, in appearance, rich in minerals. We

did not stop to land, as the weather was very favorable for pursuing our voyage, and the country presented no variety. The shore stretched to the east; and, fifty leagues beyond, more to the north, where we found a more elevated country full of very thick woods of fir trees, cypresses, and the like, indicative of a cold climate. The people were entirely different from the others we had seen, whom we had found kind and gentle; but these were so rude and barbarous that we were unable, by any signs we could make, to hold communication with them. They clothe themselves in the skins of bears, lynxes, seals, and other animals. Their food, as far as we could judge by several visits to their dwellings, is obtained by hunting and fishing, and certain fruits, which are a sort of root of spontaneous growth. They have no pulse, and we saw no signs of cultivation. The land appears sterile, and unfit for growing of fruit or grain of any kind. If we wished at any time to traffic with them, they came to the seashore and stood upon the rocks, from which they lowered down by a cord, to our boats beneath, whatever they had to barter, continually crying out to us not to come nearer, and instantly demanding from us what was to be given in exchange. They took from us only knives, fishhooks, and sharpened steel. . . . No regard was paid to our courtesies. When we had nothing left to exchange with them, the men at our departure made the most brutal signs of disdain and contempt possible. Against their will, we penetrated two or three leagues into the interior with twenty-five men. When we came to the shore, they shot at us with their arrows, raising the most horrible cries, and afterwards fleeing to the woods. In this region we found nothing extraordinary except vast forests and some metalliferous hills, as we infer from seeing that many of the people wear copper earrings.

"Departing from thence, we kept along the coast, steering northeast, and found the country more pleasant and open, free from woods; and distant in the interior we saw lofty mountains, but none which extended to the shore. Within

fifty leagues we discovered thirty-two islands, all near the mainland, small, and of pleasant appearance; but high, and so disposed as to afford excellent harbors and channels, as we see in the Adriatic Gulf, near Illyria and Dalmatia. We had no intercourse with the people; but we judge that they were similar in nature and usages to those we were last among. After sailing between east and north the distance of one hundred and fifty leagues more, and finding our provisions and naval stores nearly exhausted, we took in wood and water, and determined to return to France, having discovered five hundred and two, that is, seven hundred leagues of unknown land.

"As to the religious faith of all these tribes, not understanding their language, we could not discover either by sign or gestures anything certain. It seemed to us that they had no religion nor laws, nor any knowledge of a First Cause or Mover, that they worshipped neither the heavens, stars, sun, moon, nor other planets; nor could we learn if they were given to any kind of idolatry, or offered any sacrifices or supplications, or if they have temples or houses of prayer in their villages; our conclusion was that they have no religious belief whatever, but live in this respect entirely free. All which proceeds from ignorance, as they are very easy to be persuaded, and imitated us with earnestness and fervor in all which they saw us do as Christians in our acts of worship.

"It remains for me to lay before your Majesty a cosmographical exposition of our voyage. Taking our departure, as I before observed, from the above-mentioned desert rocks, which lie on the extreme verge of the west, as known to the ancients, in the meridian of the Fortunate Islands, and in the latitude of thirty-two degrees north from the equator, and steering a westward course, we had run, when we first made land, a distance of one thousand two hundred leagues or four thousand eight hundred miles, reckoning, according to a nautical usage, four miles to a league. This distance calculated geometrically, upon the usual ratio of the diameter

to the circumference of the circle, gives ninety-two degrees; for if we take one hundred and fourteen degrees as the chord of an arc of a great circle, we have by the same ratio ninety-five degrees as the chord of an arc on the parallel of thirty-four degrees, being that on which we first made land, and three hundred degrees as the circumference of the whole circle, passing through this plane. Allowing, then, as actual observations show, that sixty-two and one-half terrestrial miles correspond to a celestial degree, we find the whole circumference of three hundred degrees as just given to be eighteen thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine miles, which, divided by three hundred and sixty, makes the length of a degree of longitude in the parallel of thirty-four degrees to be fifty-two miles, and that is the true measure. Upon this basis, one thousand two hundred leagues, or four thousand eight hundred miles meridional distance, on the parallel of thirty-four, give ninety-two degrees, and so many therefore have we sailed farther to the west than was known to the ancients. During our voyage we had no lunar eclipses or like celestial phenomena; we therefore determined our progress from the difference of longitude, which we ascertained by various instruments, by taking the sun's altitude from day to day, and by calculating geometrically the distance run by the ship from one horizon to another; all these observations, as also the ebb and flow of the sea in all places, were noted in a little book, which may prove serviceable to navigators; they are communicated to your Majesty in the hope of promoting science.

"My intention in this voyage was to reach Cathay, on the extreme coast of Asia, expecting, however, to find in the newly discovered land some such obstacles as they have proved to be, yet did I not doubt that I should penetrate by some passage to the eastern ocean. It was the opinion of the ancients that our Oriental Indian Ocean is one, and without any interposing land; Aristotle supports it by arguments founded on various probabilities; but it is contrary to that of the moderns, and shown to be erroneous by

experience. The country which has been discovered, and which was unknown to the ancients, is another world, compared with that before known, being manifestly larger than our Europe together with Africa and perhaps Asia, if we rightly estimate its extent. We shall now be briefly explained to your Majesty. The Spaniards have sailed south beyond the equator, on a meridian twenty degrees west of the Fortunate Islands to the latitude of fifty-four degrees; and there still found land. Turning about, they steered northward on the same meridian, and along the coast to the eighth degree of latitude, near the equator, and thence along the coast, more to the west and northwest, to the latitude of twenty-one degrees, without finding a termination of the continent. They estimated the distance run as eighty-nine degrees, which, added to the twenty first run west of the Canaries, make one hundred and nine degrees; and so far west they sailed from the meridian of these islands. But this may vary somewhat from the truth. We did not make this voyage, and therefore cannot speak from experience. We calculated it geometrically from the observations furnished by many navigators, who have made the voyage, and affirm the distance to be one thousand six hundred leagues, due allowance being made for the deviations of the ship from a straight course by reason of contrary winds. I hope that we shall now obtain certain information on these points by new voyages to be made on the same coasts.

"But to return to ourselves. In the voyage which we have made by order of your Majesty, in addition to the ninety-two degrees we ran towards the west, from our point of departure, before we reached land in the latitude of thirty-four degrees, we have to count three hundred leagues which we ran northeastwardly and four hundred nearly east, along the coast, before we reached the fiftieth parallel of north latitude, the point where we turned our course from the shore towards home. Beyond this point the Portuguese had already sailed as far north as the Arctic Circle without

coming to the termination of the land. Thus, adding the degrees of south latitude explored, which are fifty-four, to those of the north, which are sixty-six, the sum is one hundred and twenty; and therefore more than are embraced in the latitude of Africa and Europe,—for the north point of Norway, which is the extremity of Europe, is in seventy-one north; and the Cape of Good Hope, which is the southern extremity of Africa, is in thirty-five south; and their sum is only one hundred and six. And if the breadth of this newly discovered country corresponds to its extent of seacoast, it doubtless exceeds Asia in size. In this way we find that the land forms a much larger portion of our globe than the ancients supposed; who maintained, contrary to mathematical reasoning, that it was less than the water; whereas actual experience proves the reverse. So that we judge, in respect to extent of surface, the land covers as much space as the water. And I hope more clearly and more satisfactorily to point out and explain to your Majesty the great extent of that new land, or new world, of which I have been speaking.

"The continent of Asia and Africa, we know for certain, is joined to Europe at the north, in Norway and Russia; which disproves the idea of the ancients, that all this part had been navigated, from the Cimbric Chersonesus eastward as far as the Caspian Sea. They also maintained that the whole continent was surrounded by two seas situate to the east and west of it; which seas, in fact, do not surround either of the two continents; for, as we have seen above, the land of the southern hemisphere at the latitude of fifty-four degrees, extends eastwardly an unknown distance; and that of the northern, passing the sixty-sixth parallel, turns to the east, and has no termination as high as the seventieth.

"In a short time, I hope, we shall have more certain knowledge of these things, by the aid of your Majesty, whom I pray Almighty God to prosper in lasting glory, that we may see the most important results of this our

cosmography in the fulfilment of the holy words of the Gospel.

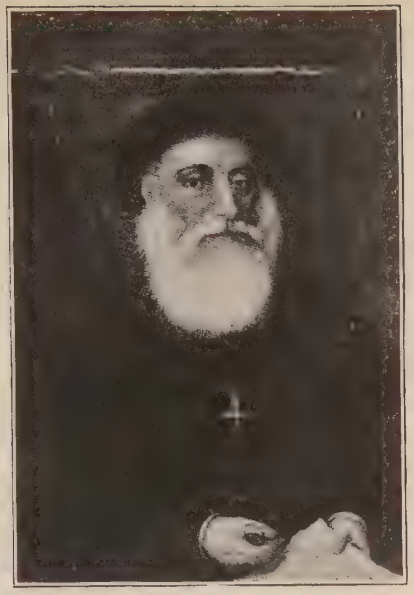
"On board the ship *Dolphin*, in the port of Dieppe in Normandy, the 8th of July, 1524.

"Your humble servitor,

"JANUS VERRAZZANUS."

A careful study of this narrative will reveal many facts of interest. Important among them is this: that Verrazano believed that Asia extended around the northern latitudes to America. The later discovery of Bering Strait, showing how nearly the two continents approximate, proves the correctness of the Florentine navigator's conclusions. His description of the coast where he made his first landing, of the natives and the flora and fauna, plainly shows that it was somewhere in the Carolinas. Verrazano also crossed the Virginian peninsula and came in sight of the broad waters of Chesapeake Bay. The sight of this inland sea, the entrance to which he had missed in the night, led him to think that it was connected with the Indian Ocean, and he constantly looked for a passage thither. Notwithstanding his failure to find such an opening, he seems to have returned to France in the belief that North America consisted of islands. Hakluyt, in the Epistle Dedicatory to his *Divers Voyages*, says: "We might . . . by God's grace, find out that short and easy passage by the Northwest, which we have hitherto so long desired, and whereof we have many good and more than probable conjectures. . . . It is not to be forgotten that Sebastian Gabot wrote to Master Baptista Ramusius, that he verily believed that all the north part of America is divided into Islands. Secondly, that Master John Verazzanus, which hath been thrice on that coast, in an old excellent map which he gave to King Henry the eighth, and is yet in the custody of Master Locke, doth so lay it out."

Verrazano's exploration continued until he came to the coast of Maine, probably to Penobscot Bay; therefore, to



From a painting by an unknown artist, now hanging in the Museu das Bellas Artes at Lisbon.

Vasco da Gama.

From a portrait formerly the property of the Conde de Farrabo, now hanging in the Museu das Bellas Artes in Lisbon.

From the portrait now hanging in the Hall of Honors of the Lisbon Geographical Society.

him is due, to a preëminent degree, the honor of being the discoverer of the shore line of the United States.

Thus step by step the newly found land was being discovered in its coast extent; from Labrador to the Gulf of Mexico, the prows of the European navigators' vessels had pushed their way; the West Indies had been discovered and settled, Yucatan and the coast of Mexico in part determined, and Mexico overrun by Spanish adventurers. Such is the epitome of western maritime discovery during the little more than a quarter of a century that had elapsed since Columbus first sighted land at Guanahani.

CHAPTER XIII

FRENCH EXPLORATION OF THE NORTH

ALTHOUGH France, too preoccupied with her changing affairs at home, allowed ten years to elapse before she availed herself of the discoveries of Aubert and Verrazano to extend her knowledge of the North American coast, she was not deterred from so doing by any respect for the claims of Spain and Portugal, which were based on the Papal Bull. "Father Adam's will" had never been forthcoming; and when French explorers began to penetrate the bays and seas of the north they were so confident that their title could not be assailed that, on their maps, they simply designated the whole of North America as "New France." Many years of hard fighting were needed before this inscription was rubbed out by the English; and so thoroughly did France give practical effect to her claim, by occupation, that to-day a large portion of North America is almost as distinctively French in race, speech, and customs, as Mexico is Spanish. While French enterprise dominates the early history of this section, the name it has acquired is reputed to be due to the Spaniards, who, having sailed along the northern shores of the continent, forsook them, because they discovered no gold there. Thus disappointed in their search for indications of mineral wealth, they are said to have exclaimed: "Acca nada!" [nothing here] and departed. When the Indians who had heard this phrase saw other

white men visiting their shores, they repeated the expression, and thus originated the name "Canada." Hennepin's derivation is quite similar: he informs us that the Spaniards call the country in derision "Cabo de Nada," that is, "Cape Nothing." But it is more than likely that these derivations are merely fanciful, and that "canada" was the original Indian word for "village."

Soon after Verrazano's return from his great western voyage, the war between Francis I. and Charles V. ended in the former's defeat and capture at Pavia. His subsequent imprisonment and the measures by which he procured his release being terminated, he was at last induced to redirect his thought to the New World. For this, France was indebted to Philip Chabot, her energetic high admiral; and when the king was ready to enter into the project, Chabot had the man who was especially fitted for its carrying out.

Jacques Cartier was the man whom Chabot presented to Francis as eminently fitted to carry forward the work which Verrazano had begun. He was born at St. Malo, December 31, 1494. Coming of a race of hardy mariners and brought up in a town the whole life of which centred in seafaring, Jacques Cartier took to the maritime life as naturally as the ordinary man does to walking and working on land. In the town hall of St. Malo is to be seen his portrait, which, though greatly treasured by the inhabitants, is of too late a date to justify any degree of assurance that it presents the real features of the explorer. Cartier had already earned a reputation: by the Spaniards he was called a pirate; and doubtless the term was merited. But this appellation, derogatory as it now is, only served to win for him the esteem of his fellow countrymen.

On the 20th of April, 1534, Cartier sailed from St. Malo with two ships of sixty tons each and one hundred and twenty men. He followed the course well known to the fishing vessels of Normandy and Brittany, and on the 10th of May he came in sight of Cape Bona Vista, on the Newfoundland coast. The harbors being still blocked with ice,

he turned southward, and, sailing round by Cape Race, almost circumnavigated the island. Then he crossed the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Prince Edward's Island, and thence went north to a deep bay, which he named "Chaleur"; for being here in July he experienced so great a heat that it caused much discomfort. He explored the shores of the gulf in considerable detail, and at Gaspé erected a cross and took possession of the whole region in the name of the King of France.

On this first voyage Cartier did not push his explorations far beyond the points already known to his countrymen who visited those regions for fish and furs. But he was like a general who would first view the fortifications which he determined later to scale. This expedition served to acquaint him with the points of approach whence, later, he was to break into Canada, penetrate the mysteries and reveal the grandeur of the Hochelaga, the great river of St. Lawrence. Not deeming it wise to be overtaken by winter in a country noted for the rigors of that season, he reshaped his course eastward, and, exploring the northern shore of the island of Anticosti, passed again through Belle Isle Strait and spread his sails for France. He carried with him, however, two natives, who were not only to serve as proofs of his landing in strange regions and somewhat excite the curiosity of his countrymen in regard to the same, but who, after being taught to speak French, would greatly aid him in necessary intercourse with the natives on the future voyage which he was determined to make.

Though he was not able to carry back to France any well-founded hope that the kingdom would find enrichment in those northern latitudes, nor any word of splendors like those of Mexico, for which Spain was envied by all the world, the traders of Brittany knew, nevertheless, that the resources of Canada might be made to pay the expenses of any enterprise in that direction, and, in any case, Francis was willing to dispute the title of Charles to the whole of the western world. Moreover, it was still believed that

by dint of perseverance a way would at last be found through the newly discovered continent to the ancient riches of the Orient.

October, 1534, saw Cartier again preparing to make the great venture. Chabot obtained for him the royal commission, and by May of the following year he had three small vessels manned and ready to sail.

In the *Principal Navigations* of Richard Hakluyt, the story is told of the discovery of the St. Lawrence by Jacques Cartier, as follows:

"On Whitsunday, the 16th of May, 1535, by command of our captain, Jacques Cartier, and by common consent, we confessed our sins and received the holy sacrament in the Cathedral of St. Maloes; after which, having all presented ourselves in the choir, we received the blessing of the lord bishop, being in his robes. On Wednesday following, the 19th of that month, we set sail with a favorable gale. Our squadron consisted of three ships. The *Great Hermina*, of an hundred to an hundred and twenty tons, of which Jacques Cartier was captain and general of the expedition, Thomas Frosmont chief master, accompanied by Claudius de Pont Briand, son to the lord of Montceuell, cupbearer to the Dauphin, Charles de Pomeraies, John Powlet, and other gentlemen. In the second ship, of sixty tons, called the *Little Hermina*, Mace Salobert and William Marie were captains under the orders of our general. The third ship, of forty tons, called the *Hermerillon*, was commanded by William Britton and James Maingare. The day after we set sail, the prosperous gale was changed into storms and contrary winds, with darksome fogs, in which we suffered exceedingly till the 25th of June, when our three ships lost sight of each other, and never rejoined again till after our arrival at Newfoundland. We in the general's ship continued to be tossed about by contrary winds till the 7th of July, when we made the Island of Birds, fourteen leagues from the main of Newfoundland. This island is

so full of birds that our ships might have been loaded with them, and the quantity taken away not missed. We took away two boatloads, to increase our sea stores. The Isle of Birds is in latitude 49° 40′ N.

"We left this island with a fair wind on the 8th of July, and came to the harbor of White Sands, or Blanc Sablon, in the Grand Bay, or Baye des Châteaux, where the rendezvous of the squadron had been appointed. We remained here till the 26th of July, when both of the other ships joined us, and we then laid in a stock of wood and water for enabling us to proceed on our voyage. Everything being in readiness, we set sail from White Sands early in the morning of the 29th, and sailing along the northern coast, which runs from S. W. to N. E., we passed by two islands, lying farther out than the others, which we named St. William's Islands, being twenty leagues or more from the port called Brest. All the coast from the Baye des Châteaux to that place lies E. and W., N. E. and S. W., off which there are sundry small islands, the whole being stony and barren, without soil or trees, except in a few narrow valleys. Next day, we sailed twelve leagues and a half westwards, in search of other islands, among which there is a great bay towards the north, all full of islands and great creeks, among which there seemed to be many good harbors. We named these the Islands of St. Martha, off which, about a league and a half farther out to sea, there is a dangerous shallow, and about seven leagues from the Islands of St. Martha, on the east and on the west, as you pass to these islands, there are five rocks. We passed these about one in the afternoon; and from that time till midnight we sailed about fifteen leagues, passing to the southeastwards of a cape of the lower islands, which we named St. Germain's Islands; about three leagues from which cape there is a very dangerous shallow. Likewise between Cape St. Germain's and Cape St. Martha, about two leagues from the before-mentioned islands, there is a bank of sand on which the water is only four fathoms deep. On account

of the dangerous nature of this coast, we struck sail and came to anchor for the rest of the night.

"Next day, being the last of July, we went along all that part of the coast which runs E. and W., or somewhat southeasterly, all of which is beset with islands and dry sands, and is consequently of very dangerous navigation. The distance from Cape St. Germain's to these islands is about seventeen and one-half leagues, beyond which is a goodly plot of ground, surrounded by large tall trees; but all the rest of the coast is encompassed with sandbanks, without any appearance of harbors till we come to Cape Thiennot, about seven leagues northwest from these islands. Having noted this cape in our former voyage, we sailed on all this night to the west and west-northwest till day; and as the wind then became contrary, we looked out for a harbor in which to shelter our ships, and found one for our purpose which we named Port St. Nicholas. This port lies amid four islands off the mainland, and we set up a cross on the nearest of these islands as a landmark or beacon. In entering Port St. Nicholas, this cross must be brought to bear N. E. and passed on the left hand of the steersman, by which means you find six fathoms water in the passage, and four within the port. Care must be taken, however, to avoid two shelves which stretch out half a league to seawards.

"The whole of this coast is full of dangerous shoals, yet having the deceitful appearance of many good havens. We remained at Port St. Nicholas till Sunday, the 7th of August, when we made sail and approached the land southwards by Cape Rabart, which is twenty leagues from Port St. Nicholas S. S. W. Next day the wind became boisterous and contrary, and, as we could not find any haven to the southward, we coasted along northward about ten leagues beyond Port St. Nicholas, where we found a goodly great gulf, full of islands, passages, and entrances, answerable for any wind whatever. This gulf may easily be known by a great island, resembling a cape, stretching

somewhat farther out than the other islands, and about two leagues inland there is a hill which resembles a corn rick. We named this the Gulf of St. Lawrence. On the 12th of the month, we sailed westwards from this gulf, and discovered a cape of land toward the south, about twenty-five leagues W. and by S. from the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The two savages whom we took with us on our former voyage informed us that this cape formed part of the great southern coast; and that by the southern part of an island which they pointed out was the way to Canada from Honguedo, whence we took them last year. They said further, that at two days' journey from this cape and island the kingdom of Saguenay began. On the north shore of this island, extending towards Canada, and about three leagues off this cape, there are above one hundred fathoms water; and I believe there never were as many whales seen at once as we saw that day around this cape. Next day, the 15th of August, having passed the strait, we had notice of certain lands which we had left towards the south, which are full of extensive high hills. We named the before-mentioned cape the Island of Assumption; from which one cape of the before-mentioned high country trends E. N. E. and W. S. W. distant twenty-five leagues. The northern country, for more than thirty leagues in length, is obviously higher than that which is to the southwards. We coasted along the southern lands till noon of the 17th, when the wind came round to the west; after which we steered for the northern coast which we had before seen, and found it low toward the sea, and the northern range of mountains within this low land stretch from east to west one-quarter south. Our two savages informed us that Saguenay began here, which is an inhabited land producing copper, which they call *caignetdaze*. The distance between the southern and northern lands is about thirty leagues, and the gulf between is above two hundred fathoms deep. The savages informed us likewise that the great river Hochelaga began here, by which was the direct way to Canada; and which

river becomes always narrower as we approach towards Canada, where the water is fresh. They said further that it penetrates so far inland that they had never heard of anyone who had reached its head. On considering their account, our captain resolved to proceed no farther at this time, more especially as they said there was no other passage, meaning to examine in the first place the northern coast between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and this great river, to see if any other passage could be discovered.

"We accordingly turned back on Wednesday, the 18th of August, along the northern coast, which trends from N. E. to S. W. like half of a bow, and is very high land, yet not so high as the southern coast. Next day we came to seven high round islands, which we named the Seven Isles, which stretch three or four leagues out to sea, and are forty leagues from the southern shore of the gulf. Over against these, the northern shore consists of good low grounds full of fine trees, having various sandbanks almost dry at low water, and reaching two leagues from shore. At the farther extremity of these low lands, which continue for ten leagues, there is a river of fresh water which runs with such rapidity into the sea that the water is quite fresh a league from its mouth. Entering this river with our boats, we had about a fathom and a half water at its mouth.

"In this river we found many fishes resembling horses, which our savages told us lay all day in the water and went on shore at night. We set sail at daybreak of the 21st, continuing our progress along the northern coast of the gulf, which we traced the whole of that day to the north-east, and then stood over to the Island of Assumption, being assured that no passage was to be found in that direction. Returning to the harbor at the Seven Isles, which has nine or ten fathoms water, we were detained there by mists and contrary winds till the 24th, when we stood over to the southern coast, and came to a harbor about eighty leagues from these islands. This harbor is over against three flat islands in the middle of the river, between which

islands and the harbor there is a very great river which runs between high and low lands. For more than three leagues out to sea there are many dangerous shelves, leaving not quite two fathoms water, so that the entrance is very dangerous; yet near these shelves the water is from fifteen to twenty fathoms deep from shore to shore. All the northern coast runs from N. E. and by N. to S. W. and by S. This haven is of but small value, as it is only formed by the tide of flood, and is inaccessible at low water. We named the three small flat islets St. John's Isles, because we discovered them on the day of St. John the Baptist's decapitation. Before coming to this haven there is an island about five leagues to the eastward, between which and the land there is no passage except for small boats. The best station for ships in this harbor is to the south of a little island and almost close to its shore. The tide here flows at least two fathoms, but ships have to lie aground at low water.

"Leaving this harbor on the 1st of September, we proposed sailing for Canada; and at about fifteen leagues W. S. W. we came to three islands, over against which is a deep and rapid river, which our two savages told us leads to the country and kingdom of Saguenay. This river runs between very high and steep hills of bare rock, with very little soil; yet great numbers of trees grow among these rocks, as luxuriantly as if upon level and fertile land, insomuch that some of them would make masts for vessels of thirty tons. At the mouth of this river we met four canoes full of savages, who seemed very fearful of us, and some of them even went away. One of the canoes, however, ventured to approach within hail, when one of our savages spoke to the people, telling his name, on which they came to us. Next day, leaving that river, we proceeded on for Canada; and in consequence of the rapidity of the tide, we found the navigation very dangerous; more especially as to the southward of that river there are two islands, around which for above three leagues there are many rocks and great

stones, and only two fathoms water. Besides, the direction of the tide among these islands and rocks is very uncertain and changeable; so that if it had not been for our boats, we had been in great danger of losing our pinnace. In coasting along, we found above thirty fathoms water just off shore, except among these rocks and islands. About five leagues beyond the river Saguenay, to the S. W., there is another island on the north side containing high land, where we proposed to have come to anchor in waiting for the next tide of flood, but we had no ground with a line of one hundred and twenty fathoms only an arrow-shot from shore; so that we were obliged to return to that island, where we had thirty-five fathoms. We set sail again next morning to proceed onwards; and this day we got notice of a strange kind of fish which had never been seen before, which are called *adhothuys* by the natives. They are about the bigness of a porpoise, but no way like them, having well-proportioned bodies and heads like a greyhound, their whole bodies being entirely white without spot. There are great numbers of them in this river, and they always keep in the water, the natives saying that they are very savory and good eating, and are nowhere else to be found but in the mouth of this river. On the 6th of September we proceeded about fifteen leagues farther up the river, where we found an island having a small haven towards the north, around which there were innumerable large tortoises. There are here likewise vast numbers of the fish *adhothuys*, already mentioned; and the rapidity of the tide at this place is as great as it is at Bordeaux in France. This island is about three leagues long and two broad, all of rich fertile soil, having many fine trees of various kinds; among which were many filbert trees, full of nuts, which we found to be larger and better than ours, but somewhat harder, on which account we named it Isle aux Coudres, or Filbert Island.

"On the 7th of the month we went seven or eight leagues up the river from Filbert Island to fourteen other islands, where the country of Canada begins. One of these islands

is ten leagues long and five broad, thickly inhabited by natives who live entirely by fishing in the river. Having cast anchor between this island and the northern coast, we went on shore, accompanied by our two savages, whose names were Taignoagny and Domagaia. At first the inhabitants of the island avoided us, till at length our two savages got speech of some of them, telling who they were, on which the natives seemed much rejoiced, dancing and singing and showing many other ceremonies; many of their chief men came now to our boats, bringing great numbers of eels and other fishes, likewise two or three burdens of great millet or maize, and many very large muskmelons. On the same day many canoes filled with natives, both men and women, came to visit our two savages, all of whom were received in a kindly manner by our captain, who gave them many things of small value, with which they were much gratified. Next day the lord of Canada came to our ships with twelve canoes and many people; but causing ten of his canoes to go back again, he came up to our ships with only two canoes and sixteen men. The proper name of this person was Donnacona, but his dignified name, as a lord or chief, was Agouhanna. On coming near the smallest of our ships, he stood up in his canoe and made a long oration, moving his body and limbs in an extraordinary manner, which among them pass for signs of friendship and security. He then came up towards the general's ship, in which were Taignoagny and Domagaia, with whom he entered into conversation. These men related to him all that they had seen in France, and what good treatment they had received in that country, at all which Agouhanna seemed much pleased, and desired our captain to hold out his arm for him to kiss. Our captain now went into Agouhanna's canoe, and made bread and wine be handed down to him, which he offered to the chief and his followers, with which they were much gratified. When all this was over, our captain came again on board, and the chief went with his canoes to his own abode.

"The captain ordered all the boats to be made ready, in which we went up the river against the stream for ten leagues, keeping close to the shore of the island, at which distance we found an excellent sound with a small river and haven, in which there are about three fathoms water at flood tide. As this place seemed very pleasant and safe for our ships, we brought them thither, calling it the harbor of St. Croix, because discovered on Holy Cross Day. Near this is a village named Stadacona, of which Donnacona is lord, and where he resides. It stands on a piece of as fine fertile ground as one would wish to see, full of as goodly trees as are to be seen in France, such as oaks, elms, ashes, walnut trees, maples, cydrons, vines, and white thorns which bear fruit as large as damson plums, and many other sorts of trees. Under these there grows great abundance of fine tall hemp, which springs up spontaneously without cultivation. Having examined this place and found it fit for the purpose, the captain proposed returning to the ships to bring them to this port; but we were met, when coming out of the river, by one of the chiefs of Stadacona, accompanied by many men, women, and children. This chief made a long oration to us, all the women dancing and singing for joy up to the knees in water. The captain caused the canoe to come alongside of his boat, and presented them all with some trifles, such as knives, glass beads, and the like, with which they were so much delighted that we could hear them singing and dancing when we were three leagues off.

"After returning to the ships, the captain landed again on the island, to examine and admire the beauty, variety, and luxuriance of its trees and vegetables. On account of the great number of vines which it produced everywhere in profusion, he named it the Island of Bacchus, but it is now called the Isle of Orleans. It is in length twelve leagues, exceedingly pleasant and fruitful, and everywhere covered with trees, except in some places where there are a few huts of fishers, around which some small patches are cleared and cultivated. We departed with our ships next day, and

on the 14th of September we brought them up to Port St. Croix, and were met on the way by the lord Donnacona, accompanied by our two savages, Taignoagny and Domagaia, with twenty-five canoes full of natives; all of whom came to our ships with every sign of mirth and confidence, except our own two savages, who would on no account come on board, though repeatedly invited, on which we began to suspect some sinister intentions. On the next day, the captain went on shore to give directions for fixing certain piles or stakes in the water for the greater security of our ships, and Donnacona with a considerable number of the natives came to meet him; but our two savages kept aloof under a point or nook of land at some distance, and would on no account join our company. Understanding where they were, our captain went towards them, accompanied by some of our men; and after the customary salutations, Taignoagny represented that Donnacona was much dissatisfied because the captain and his men were always armed, while the natives were not. To this the captain answered that he was sorry this should give offence; but as they two who had been in France knew that this was the custom of their country, he could not possibly do otherwise. Yet Donnacona continued to converse with our captain in the most friendly manner, and we concluded that Taignoagny and Domagaia had invented this pretence of their own accord; more especially as Donnacona and our captain entered into the strictest bonds of friendship, on which all the natives set up three horrible yells, after which the companies separated, and we went on board. On the following day, we brought the two largest of our ships unto the harbor within the mouth of the small river, in which there are three fathoms water at flood tide, and only half a fathom at the ebb. The pinnace, or smallest vessel, was left at anchor without the harbor, as we intended to use her for exploring the Hochelaga. As soon as our ships were placed in safety, we saw Donnacona coming towards us, accompanied by Taignoagny, Domagaia, and above five

hundred natives, men, women, and children. Donnacona and ten or twelve of the principal persons came on board the captain's ship, where they were courteously received by the captain and all of us, and many gifts of small value were given them. Then Taignoagny informed our captain that Donnacona was dissatisfied with our intention of exploring the Hochelaga, and would not allow anyone to go with us. The captain said, in reply, that he was resolved to go there if possible, as he had been ordered by his sovereign to penetrate the country in that direction as far as was practicable; that if Taignoagny would go along with him, as he had promised, he should be well used, and should be rewarded to his satisfaction on their return. This was refused by Taignoagny, and the whole of the savages immediately retired.

"Next day, the 17th of September, Donnacona and his company came back to us, bringing many eels and other fishes, which they procure in great abundance in the river. On their arrival at the ships, all the savages fell a dancing and singing as usual, after which Donnacona caused all his people to stand off on one side; then, making our captain and all our people stand within a circle which he drew on the sand, he made a long oration, holding a female child of ten or twelve years old by the hand, whom he presented to our captain at the end of his speech; upon which all his people set up three loud howls, in token of joy and friendship, at least so we understood them. Donnacona afterwards presented two boys successively, who were younger than the girl, accompanied by other ceremonies, among which were very loud shrieks or yells as before. For these presents our captain gave many hearty thanks. Then Taignoagny told the captain that one of the boys was his own brother, and that the girl was daughter to a sister of Donnacona; and that the presents had been given on purpose to induce him not to go to Hochelaga. To this the captain answered that he would certainly return the children, if that were the purpose of the gift; as he could on no

Map from Ramusio's *Raccolta*, showing Cartier's discoveries in the New World. *From the original in the New York Public Library, Lenox Branch.*

account desist from going where he had been commanded by his king. But Domagaia, the other savage who had been in France, told the captain that the children had been presented as a token of friendship and security, and that he, Domagaia, was willing to accompany us to Hochelaga. On this, high words arose between Taignoagny and Domagaia, by which we inferred that the former was a crafty knave, and intended to do us some treacherous act of mischief, as indeed sufficiently appeared from his former conduct. The captain sent the children to our ships, whence he caused two swords and two brass basons to be brought, which he presented to Donnacona, who was much gratified and expressed great thankfulness, commanding all his people to sing and dance. The chief then expressed a desire to have one of our cannons fired off, as our two savages had told him many wonderful things respecting them. He accordingly ordered twelve cannons, loaded with ball, to be fired off into the woods close by, at which all the savages were greatly astonished, as if heaven had fallen upon them, and ran away howling, shrieking, and yelling, as if all hell had broken loose. Before we went on board, Taignoagny informed us that our people in the pinnace, which we had left at anchor without the harbor, had slain two men by a shot from one of their cannons, on which all the natives had fled away. This we afterwards found to be false, as our men had not fired any that day.

"The savages still endeavored to hinder us from going to Hochelaga, and devised the following stratagem to induce us not to go. They dressed up three men like devils, in black and white dogs' skins, having their faces blackened, and with horns on their heads a yard long. These men were put secretly into a canoe, while all the savages lay hid in the wood, awaiting the tide to bring the canoe with the mock devils. On the approach of that canoe, all the savages came out of the wood, but did not come so near us as usual. Taignoagny came forwards to salute our captain, who asked if he would have a boat sent to bring him on board; but

he declined to do so then, saying that he would come on board afterwards. At this time the canoe with the three devils made its appearance, and on passing close by the ships, one of these men stood up and made a long oration, without ever turning round to look at us. The boat floated past us towards the land, on which Donnacona and all his people pursued them and laid hold of the canoe, on which the three devils fell down as if dead, when they were carried out into the wood, followed by all the savages. We could hear them from our ships in long and loud conference above half an hour; after which Taignoagny and Domagaia came towards us, holding their hands joined above their heads, and carrying their hats under their upper garments, as if in great astonishment. Taignoagny, looking up to heaven, exclaimed three times: 'Jesus! Jesus! Jesus!' Domagaia in the same manner cried out: 'Jesus Maria! Jacques Cartier!' On seeing these gestures and ceremonies, our captain asked what was the matter, and what had happened. They answered that they had very ill news to tell, saying in French *Nenni est il bon*, or 'it is not good.' On being again asked what all this meant, they said that their god Coudouagny had spoken in Hochelaga, and had sent these three men to say there was so much ice and snow in that country, that whoever ventured there would surely die. On this we laughed, mocking them, saying that their god Coudouagny was a fool, and knew not what he said; and desired them to show us his messengers, saying that Christ would defend them from all cold if they believed in him. They then asked the captain if he had spoken with Jesus; who answered *no*, but the priests had, who had assured him of fair weather. They then thanked the captain for this intelligence, and went into the wood to communicate it to the rest, who all now rushed from the wood as if glad of the news, giving three great shouts, and then fell to dancing and singing as usual. Yet our two savages declared that Donnacona would not allow anyone to accompany us to Hochelaga, unless some hostage was left for his safe return. The captain then

said if they would not go willingly they might stay, and he would go without them.

"On the 19th of September we hoisted sail in the pinnace, accompanied by two of our boats, the captain taking most of his officers and fifty mariners along with him, intending to go up the river towards Hochelaga with the tide of flood. Both shores of the river, as far as the eye could see, appeared as goodly a country as could be desired, all replenished with fine trees, among which all along the river grew numerous vines as full of grapes as they could hang, which, though quite natural, seemed as if they had been planted. Yet, as they were not dressed and managed according to art, their bunches were not so large nor their grapes so sweet as ours. We also saw many huts along the river, inhabited by fishers, who came to us with as much familiarity and kindness as if we had been their countrymen, bringing us great quantities of fish and such other things as they had, for which we paid them in trifles to their great contentment. We stopped at the place named Hochelay, twenty-five leagues above Canada, where the river becomes very narrow with a rapid current, and very dangerous on account of certain stones or rocks. Many canoes came off to us, in one of which came the chief man of the place, who made us a long oration, explaining by signs and gestures that the river became more dangerous the higher we went, and advising us to take good care of ourselves. This chief presented two of his own children to our captain, one of which only he received, being a girl of seven or eight years old, returning the boy, who was too young, being only two or three years of age. The captain entertained this chief and his company as well as he could, presenting them all with some trifles, with which they returned to the shore well pleased. This chief and his wife came down afterwards to Canada to visit their child, and brought with them some small presents for our captain.

"From the 19th to the 28th of September, we sailed up this great river, never losing an hour of time, finding the

whole land on both sides as pleasant a country as could be desired, full of fine tall trees, as oak, elm, walnut, cedar, fir, ash, box, willow, and great store of vines loaded with grapes, so that when any of our people went on shore, they brought back as many as they could carry. There were, likewise, cranes, swans, geese, ducks, pheasants, partridges, thrushes, blackbirds, finches, redbreasts, nightingales, sparrows, and many other birds like those of France, in vast abundance. On the 28th of September we came to a wide lake, or enlargement of the river, five or six leagues broad and twelve long, which we called the Lake of Angoulesme, all through which we went against the tide, having only two fathoms water. On our arrival at the upper extremity of the lake, we could find no passage, as it seemed entirely shut up, and had only a fathom and a half water, a little more or less. We were therefore obliged to cast anchor here with our pinnace, and went with our two boats to seek out some passage; and in one place we found four or five branches which seemed to come from the river of Hochelaga into the lake; but at the mouth of these branches, owing to the great rapidity of the currents, there were bars or shallows having only six feet water. After passing these shallows, we had four or five fathoms at flood tide, this being the season of the year when the water is lowest; for at other times the tide flows higher by three fathoms. All these four or five branches of the river surround five or six very pleasant islands, which are at the head of the lake; and about fifteen leagues higher up all these unite into one. We landed on one of these islands, where we met five natives, who were hunting wild beasts, and who came as familiarly to our boats as if they had always lived amongst us. When our boats were near the shore, one of these men took our captain in his arms and carried him to the land with as much ease as if he had been a child of five years old. We found that these people had taken a great number of wild rats which live in the water, which are as large as rabbits and very good to eat. They gave these

to our captain, who gave them knives and glass beads in return. We asked them by signs if this were the way to Hochelaga, to which they answered that it was, and that we had still three days' sail to go thither.

"Finding it impossible to take the pinnace any higher, the captain ordered the boats to be made ready for the rest of the expedition, taking on board as much ammunition and provisions as they could carry. He departed with these on the 29th of September, accompanied by Claudius de Pont Briand, Charles de Pomeraies, John Govion, and John Powlet, with twenty-eight mariners, intending to go up the river as far as possible. We sailed with prosperous weather till the 2nd of October, when we arrived at Hochelaga, which is forty-five leagues above the head of the Lake of Angoulesme, where we left the pinnace. At this place, and indeed all the way up, we met with many of the natives, who brought us fish and other provisions, always dancing and singing on our arrival. To gratify them and keep them our friends, the captain always rewarded them on these occasions with knives, beads, and such trifles to their full satisfaction. On approaching Hochelaga, above one thousand natives, men, women, and children, came to meet us, giving us as friendly and hearty a welcome as if we had been of their own nation come home after a long and perilous absence, all the men dancing in one place, and the women in another, and the children in a third; after which they brought us great abundance of fish and of their bread made of maize, both of which they threw into our boats in profusion. Observing their gentle and friendly dispositions, our captain went on shore well accompanied, on which the natives came clustering about us in the most affectionate manner, bringing their young children in their arms, eager to have them touched and noticed by the captain and the others, and showing every sign of mirth and gladness at our arrival. This scene lasted above half an hour, when the captain got all the women to draw up in regular order, to whom he distributed many beads and baubles of tin, and

gave some knives among the men. He then returned to the boats to supper and passed the night on board, all the people remaining on the shore as near as possible to the boats, dancing merrily and shouting out *aguiaze*, which in their language is an expression of joy and satisfaction.

"Very early next morning, the 3rd of October, having dressed himself splendidly, our captain went on shore to see the town in which these people dwelt, taking with him five of the principal officers and twenty men, all well armed, leaving the remainder of the people to take care of the boats. The city of Hochelaga is six miles from the river side, and the road thither is as well beaten and frequented as can be, leading through as fine a country as can be seen, full of as fine oaks as any in France, the whole ground below being strewed over with fine acorns. When we had gone four or five miles we were met by one of the chief lords of the city, accompanied by a great many natives, who made us understand by signs that we must stop at a place where they had made a large fire, which we did accordingly. When we had rested there some time, the chief made a long discourse in token of welcome and friendship, showing a joyful countenance and every mark of good will. On this, our captain presented him with two hatchets and two knives, and hung a cross from his neck, which he made him kiss, with all which the chief seemed much pleased. After this we resumed our march, and about a mile and a half farther we found fine large fields covered with the corn of the country, resembling the millet of Brasil, rather larger than small pease. In the midst of these cultivated fields the city of Hochelaga is situated, near and almost joined to a great mountain, which is very fertile and cultivated all round, to which we gave the name of Mont Royal."

Though Cartier honored St. Lawrence by giving his name to the small bay on the mainland north of the island of Anticosti, which he reached on August 10th, he continued to call the river Hochelaga. "Canada" was at first

applied only to the country below Quebec, or Stadacona, as the Indians called their little settlement on the spot now occupied by the Lower Town. Hochelaga was more important; it was the largest Indian town in that northern region. Why Donnacona, the Indian chief, was unwilling that Cartier and his men should proceed up the river we are left unaided to conjecture. Possibly he imagined that the chief motive which had prompted the white men to visit his country was the distribution of beads and trinkets, and consequently he was unwilling that the people of Hochelaga should share in these gifts. That nothing more malevolent was in his mind is shown by the fact that he had recourse to the offices of his god, Coudouagny, rather than to the arrows of his braves.

In Hochelaga, or Mont Royal, as it soon came to be called, the Frenchmen found the best examples of the Iroquois towns of North America. The settlement was confined within a circle comprised of three palisades of logs, through which there was but one entrance, which might be closed with stakes and bars. By the gate, and at many other points on this rude fortification, platforms were built, which were reached by ladders; on these platforms were stored heaps of stones, to be used against an enemy when endeavoring to storm the town. There is no means of ascertaining the population of this Indian settlement; but from the fact that it contained fifty long wigwams, each not less than one hundred and fifty feet in length and fifty in breadth, it may be judged that Hochelaga possibly contained from two thousand to twenty-five hundred Indians. The Long House was built of logs and covered with broad strips of bark so closely fitted as to be impervious to the weather. The interior was partitioned so that each separate family in the communal house might have its own chamber. Under the roofs of these houses was stored the corn which had been harvested from the rudely tilled fields. Such was Montreal as it appeared to the eyes of Jacques Cartier and his Frenchmen in the autumn of 1535.

Not deeming it wise to winter among these people, with whom the explorers had had no previous experience, they returned to Stadacona. They passed the winter there, and at its close so greatly had cold and sickness diminished Cartier's men that in the spring he had barely sufficient with whom to man one vessel. But the gateway to Canada had been found, and, though it was five years before another expedition sailed up the St. Lawrence, Cartier had secured for his country the title to New France.

Though France was very far from gaining such profit from her North American acquisitions as fell to the lot of Spain in the south, she none the less endowed her new possessions with highly titled dignitaries. In 1541, Francis created the Sieur de Roberval Viceroy of New France, Lord of Norumbega, Newfoundland, Saguenay, and Hochelaga. He was to proceed to his new possessions and there establish a colony which it was designed to govern with all the fantastic appurtenances of the feudalism which was then current. One principal motive for this occupation of North America, as set forth in the commission granted to Roberval, was the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. The possibility of success in this undertaking must have seemed to reasonable thinking men as very slight, seeing that the viceroy was empowered, and indeed was obliged, to man his fleet with criminals and malefactors drawn from the dungeons of France. At this time Cartier was made captain-general of New France, and there being some delay in Roberval's preparations Cartier sailed with three ships in May, 1541. He expected soon to be joined by Roberval with the rest of the fleet and the provisions for the settlement. After impatiently waiting for six weeks on the coast of Newfoundland, and finding that the viceroy did not come, Cartier continued his journey up the St. Lawrence to the scene of his former discoveries. There he found the natives less friendly than they had been on his former visit, and a winter of hardship was passed and little done in the way of exploration. Spring came, but not Roberval, and, contrary

to his wont, Cartier determined to abandon his project and return to France. In St. John's Harbor, Newfoundland, he met Roberval, but could not be induced by the latter to turn back. The stern and determined viceroy, however, proceeded up the St. Lawrence and endeavored to plant his colony at Cap Rouge. All the machinery, material and official, required by a French municipality was there; only the means of subsistence were lacking. And when in 1543, the king, needing Roberval in France, sent out Cartier to bring him back, the whole enterprise was abandoned with entire willingness on the part of all by whom it had been undertaken.

The failure of Roberval's project for colonization put an end to French exploration at the time, and it was not to be resumed for many years to come. France was entering upon that period of civil strife which was the outgrowth of the Huguenot movement and the determined resistance offered thereto by the Catholic party. During those days neither thought nor means could be afforded to enterprises on the far-off American shores. Only the Brittany fishermen maintained the title of France by repairing to those coasts in increasing numbers every year. But when France saw quieter days under the rule of Henry IV., New France was again brought to men's minds, and efforts were begun which finally resulted in its permanent settlement. The names which are prominent at the beginning of the history of this revived interest are Pontgravé and Pierre Chauvin. These men, becoming impressed with the conviction that the fur trade might be made a source of great profit, obtained a monopoly in the same, and carried it on successfully until Chauvin died in 1603.

But French enterprise in Canada was not allowed to lag because of the dissolution of this fur-trading partnership. Henry IV., being firmly seated on his throne, was in a mood to reward the men who had helped him thither. Among these was Aymar de Chastes, who had put Henry in possession of Dieppe, of which city he was the governor.

On Chauvin's death, De Chastes requested from the king the gift of the fur-trading monopoly. It was readily granted, and the king doubtless thought De Chastes extremely moderate in his demands. But among all whose names are connected with the earliest history of New France there is none which stands for more unselfish motives than that of the Governor of Dieppe. Patriot and devout Catholic, he desired nothing more than to establish the Cross and the *fleur-de-lis* on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Pontgravé was naturally chosen by De Chastes to command the new expedition.

It was the undertaking promoted by these men that brought Samuel Champlain, the Father of New France, upon the scene. Champlain was born in the year 1567, at Brouage, near Rochelle. Though he early took to the sea and became an experienced navigator, for several years while Henry of Navarre was contending for the throne Champlain served in his army as deputy quartermaster-general. Peace having been declared, Champlain made a voyage to Mexico, in command of a Spanish vessel. He spent two years in New Spain, and on his return wrote a *Narrative of a Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico*, which so pleased Henry IV. that it gained for the sailor-author a pension. Champlain, returning to France at the moment when Pontgravé was about to set out on his voyage to the west to establish the headquarters of his monopoly at Tadousac on the St. Lawrence, was easily induced to take part in the enterprise. On the 15th of March, 1603, they sailed from Honfleur with two vessels. Gaining the St. Lawrence, they sailed up past Tadousac, where Roberval had endeavored to establish his ill-fated colony; on past Quebec they went, until they saw the great mountain of Hochelaga, now Montreal. But there not even the descendants of Cartier's friendly Iroquois were to be found. They had been driven thence by the Algonquins. Champlain endeavored to push his way further up the river, but was for the time unable to stem the force of the rapids.

After a short time the explorers returned to France, with their curiosity whetted and with the determination to see more of New France.

During this first voyage, undertaken by Pontgravé and Champlain, its projector, M. de Chastes, died. His office, that of Vice-admiral of the coasts of Acadia, was given to the Sieur de Monts, who entered enthusiastically into the project of founding a colony in Canada. He was very willing to avail himself of the experience and courage of Champlain. They sailed from Havre on the 7th of March, 1604. De Monts was an adherent of the Reformed religion, and was accompanied by many of this persuasion; but the Catholics were also represented in considerable force, and were accompanied by their priests. It was designed that in the new colony toleration should prevail and every man be permitted freely to choose and follow his own creed. Champlain intimates that the disagreement incident to this arrangement was inimical to the success of the undertaking, though it may be surmised from the following statement that the controversies which ensued contributed not a little to the entertainment of the expeditioners. Says Champlain: "I have seen the minister and our curé fight with their fists about differences of religion, and I do not know which was the braver or hit the harder blows, but I do very well know that the minister complains sometimes to M. de Monts of having been soundly beaten; and in this way they cleared up the points of controversy. I leave you to think if it was very pleasant to behold. The savages were sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other; and the French, divided according to their different beliefs, said everything that was bad, both of one and the other religion."

The expedition lasted more than three years, all of which time Champlain busied himself in the work of exploration, with the result that he became fully acquainted with the whole coast of Nova Scotia. He explored the Bay of Fundy and coasted southward until he came to what he called Cape Fortune, now known as Cape Cod. On the

way thither he entered Massachusetts Bay, and was also driven for shelter into what he calls Port St. Louis; known to-day as Plymouth Harbor. In 1607 he returned to France with De Monts; and the latter, patriot that he was, and ardently desirous that his country should gain the chief fruits of his toils and dangers, found that through the intrigues of the Bretons his commission had been revoked and the only compensation for his great expenditure was to be six thousand livres which he was to collect—if he could—from the traders. Of those by whom this change was brought about the honest Champlain exclaims: "May God pardon those whom he has called to himself, and amend the living! Who would ever undertake anything, if all can be revoked in such a fashion, without carefully examining affairs before deciding!"

But, undismayed by this experience of the bad faith of the government, De Monts determined to make another attempt. He chose Champlain as his deputy, and in July, 1608, that indefatigable explorer again found himself at Quebec, as the Algonquins called the settlement—which name was retained by the French. He remained there during the winter; and in May of the following year proceeded to explore the river above the settlement. At this time he began to put into operation a method by which he secured the assistance of the natives, both in making his way through their country and in forestalling danger from their own hostility. In later times, it became the policy of the French to take an active part in Indian politics; thus they found allies among the savage tribes, but also drew to themselves the inveterate enmity of those against whom they lent their support. It was Champlain who inaugurated this questionable course. For his own immediate purposes it was advantageous, and he could not be expected to foresee its unfortunate consequences. While near the point where the Ste. Marie empties into the St. Lawrence, there met him a band of Indians who were on their way to beg him to fulfil the promise he had already made to aid them

against the Iroquois. With them he proceeded up the Rivière des Iroquois, now known as the Richelieu, and after a tedious and discouraging journey arrived at the lake which has ever since been known by his own name, where Champlain and his allies fought a battle with the Iroquois, and won it by virtue of the astonishing appearance of the three Frenchmen and the deadly effect of their arquebuses.

De Monts failed to secure the renewal of his commission, which had only been for one year. But so eager was he to extend his explorations in the country around the upper St. Lawrence that he formed a company in which he hazarded what was left of his private fortune. He had found a powerful friend, however, in Madame de Guercheville, whose zealous admiration of the Jesuits induced her to employ all her great influence in furthering their desire to missionize New France. As the result of this combination, the stirring history of the Society of Jesus in Canada had its inception, and in the spring of 1611 Champlain explored the country between Quebec and Mont Royal.

In March, 1612, Champlain left Quebec with two canoes and his mind excited with hopes of reaching what was spoken of by him as the great northern sea. This idea had its source in the story of a young Frenchman named Vignau, who had spent a winter with the Indians on the Ottawa. On returning to Paris he averred that at the headwaters of the Ottawa he had found a great lake that emptied into a river which he had followed until he came to the sea. Believing this tale, Champlain made no doubt but that he was on the point of reaching the long-looked-for passage through America to the East. But, faced by Tessouat, the chief with whom he had resided, Vignau was forced to confess that the estimate which Champlain made of him in the latter's account of the episode was correct, viz.: that he "was the most impudent liar that had been seen for a long time." But the result of this hoax, which would have ended in its going hard with the young Frenchman had he been dealing with a man of less noble disposition, was

the exploration of Ottawa River by Champlain as far up as Allumette Island. In 1615, holding under the Prince of Condé the office of lieutenant-governor, Champlain continued his travels through the wilderness which comprised the immensely larger part of his great domain. He reached Lake Nipissing, and from thence descended by river to Lake Huron. After his return from this trip, his time was occupied chiefly in looking after the interests of the colony, to which he sedulously devoted himself both at Quebec and also at Paris. But his ardor for exploration was unabated, and when he could not go forth in person he sent brave and enterprising men, of like spirit with himself, who pushed up the rivers and penetrated the forests until New France was known as an open book to those who wished to settle therein. Champlain found a worthy successor in his labors of exploration in Jean Nicolet, who for sixteen years had voluntarily exiled himself from civilization and, that he might know their country, allied himself with various Indian tribes of North America. Champlain's mind could not rest until he had settled the problem raised by the reports of great waters to the westward. These he imagined might be the Pacific; but in reality they were the Great Lakes. In 1634, he despatched Nicolet on an expedition to the westward, with instructions to prove what were the facts in regard to these surmises; he was not, however, permitted to learn the results of this voyageur's journeyings, for death overtook him in 1635. Nicolet made his way up Ottawa River to Lake Nipissing. From there he crossed to Georgian Bay and explored Lake Michigan as far as Green Bay, which he reached in 1639. He also went southward until he heard the Indians speak of a great river, which must have been the Mississippi. But this it was reserved for the missionary zeal of the Jesuits to reach.

CHAPTER XIV

FRENCH EXPLORATION OF THE INTERIOR

By the time of Champlain's death, the English colonies in America had at least gained a firm foothold, and the Dutch were established at New Amsterdam. But these settlements were not being made the headquarters and starting points for far-reaching journeys of exploration. There was but little penetration into the country other than the steady advance of the line of European settlement. How unlike this was the mode of procedure of the colonies north and south! As soon as the Spaniards touched their newly discovered country, they overran it. The French could never content themselves until they had satisfied their curiosity in regard to the whole of their Canadian domain. Perhaps this difference may be partly attributed to racial temperament. But it was also very largely owing to the nature of the regions that were settled. The English were farmers; and they at once set about making the only use of the land that its possibilities warranted and which accorded with the dictates of their tastes. The Spaniards were seekers after gold; and the search quickly carried them far afield. Three motives were prominent in the spirit which governed the French occupation of Canada: a greed for peltries, a desire for geographical investigation, and a purpose to Christianize the Indians. These three motives combined to stimulate extensive exploration, and resulted in greatly extending the knowledge of the characteristics and possibilities of the French possessions during the quarter of a century following Champlain's death.

In 1664, Jean Baptiste Talon was sent to Canada as Intendant. He cherished the idea that New France should be made as large and all-embracing a territorial acquisition as possible; and Louis XIV. fully sympathized with this view and supported it, as also did Courcelle, the Governor of Canada. Consequently, Talon's purpose was to thrust forward his outposts as far and as quickly as possible, and thus gain title to the country. As we have seen, the map of New France included, after the journeyings of Nicolet, Sault Ste. Marie and Green Bay. The former of these places, owing to the tribal feuds of the Indians, had become a great centre for the Algonquins, Hurons, and Ottawas, who were forced westward by the powerful Iroquois. The Jesuits, therefore, made this a mission station, and owing to their zeal it also became the headquarters and starting point for further expeditions. In 1669, Fathers Dablon and Marquette came to Sault Ste. Marie, and they were followed during the next year by Saint-Lusson and Joliet, who had been despatched thither by Intendant Talon to search for the copper in which it was reported the neighboring region abounded. In the presence of a great concourse of Indians, Saint-Lusson, in the name of Louis XIV., took possession of "Saint Marie du Saut, as also of Lakes Huron and Superior, the island of Manitoulin, and all countries, rivers, lakes, and streams contingent and adjacent thereto." So that now it was simply a question as to whether Spain owned the whole continent by gift of the Pope, or France by her own decision.

Colbert, the Minister of Louis XIV., wrote to Talon in 1672: "As after the increase of the colony there is nothing more important to the colony than the discovery of a passage to the South Sea [the Pacific], His Majesty wishes you to give it your attention." This order Talon, who was leaving Canada, committed to the energetic and indomitable Frontenac, who had just come out as governor. The latter accepted Talon's choice of Joliet for the undertaking, which meant primarily the finding and exploring of the

Map from Sir Humphrey Gilbert's *Discourse of a Discoverie for a New Passage to Cataia*, published in London in 1576. *From the original in the New York Public Library, Lenox Branch.*

Mississippi, which river had long been heard of, but was thought to flow into the Pacific. Joliet was eminently fitted for this work; having been born in New France, he was inured to all its hardships and accustomed to deal with the Indians. The missionaries also took the opportunity to send the Cross into those unexplored western wilds, and Marquette was commissioned to this work. These two, though their errands were different, were alike in spirit, and fitted to emulate each other in courage, endurance, and perseverance.

In company with five other Frenchmen, the priest and M. Joliet embarked in two canoes on May 13, 1673, taking provision of Indian corn and smoked beef for their voyage. With such information as they could obtain from the Indians respecting the countries they sought to visit, they drew up a map to guide them in their journey.

The first people they encountered were the Folles Avoines, or Wild Oats Indians, better known as Menominees, whom Father Marquette had previously preached among. These did their utmost to dissuade the explorers from their purpose, warning them of the hostile tribes they would encounter, the dangers of the Great River and its monstrous creatures that "devoured men and canoes together," and the great heat they would endure. The travellers proceeded to the Bay of Puan [Green Bay], whence they reached a river [Fox River] "that discharges itself therein." Père Marquette, in his account of this voyage, says: "The French have never before passed beyond the Bay of Puan. This *Bourg* consists of three several nations, viz.: Miamis, Mascoutens, and Kickapoos. . . . As soon as we had arrived we assembled the chiefs together, and informed them that we had been sent by the governor to discover new countries, and teach them the knowledge of the Creator, . . . adding that we wished them to furnish us with two guides." Conducted by their guides they transported their canoes a short distance to Mesconsin [Wisconsin] River, along which they rowed for forty leagues and reached the Mississippi on June 17th [1673].

The journey down the Great River was slowly made to 42° N. latitude, where the aspect of the country greatly changed. "There were scarcely any more woods or mountains. The islands are covered with fine trees, but we could not see any more roebucks, buffaloes, bustards, and swans," writes Père Marquette. Continuing their navigation by day, landing each night, on June 25th they "found traces of some men upon the sand, and a path which led into a large prairie." Following up this path, Joliet and Father Marquette arrived at an Indian village lying on the banks of a river at a distance of about eight miles from where they had left their men and the canoes, and a second village two miles further on. The reception of the travellers by the Indians of these villages is of interest in itself and also as evidence of the disposition of the natives toward peaceful visitors. We therefore quote Père Marquette's account of the circumstance:

"We now commended ourselves to God, and having implored His help, we came so near to the Indians that we could hear them talk. We now thought it time to make ourselves known to them by screaming aloud. At the sound of our voices, the Indians left their huts, and probably taking us for Frenchmen, one of us having a black robe on, and seeing but two of us, and being warned of our arrival, they sent four old men to speak to us, two of whom brought pipes, ornamented with different feathers. They marched slowly, without saying a word, but presenting their pipes to the sun, as if they wished it to smoke them.

"They were a long time coming from their village, but as soon as they came near, they halted to take a view of us, and seeing the ceremonies they performed, and especially seeing them covered with cloth, we judged that they were our allies. I then spoke to them, and they said they were Illinois, and as a sign of friendship they presented us their pipes to smoke. They invited us to their village, where all the people had impatiently waited for us. . . .

At the door of the cabin in which we were to be received, we found an old man in a very remarkable posture, which is the usual ceremony in receiving strangers. He was standing up, all naked, with his hands lifted up to heaven, as if he wished to screen himself from the rays of the sun which nevertheless passed through his fingers to his face. When we came near to him he said: 'What a fair day, Frenchmen, this is to come to visit us! All our people have waited for thee, and thou shalt enter our cabin in peace.' He then took us into his, where there were a crowd of people who devoured us with their eyes, but who kept a profound silence. We only occasionally heard these words in a low voice: 'These are our brothers who have come to see us.'

"As soon as we sat down, they presented us, according to custom, their calumet, which one must accept, or he would be looked upon as an enemy, and it is sufficient to place it only to your mouth and pretend to smoke. While the old men smoked in our cabin to entertain us, the great chief of the Illinois sent us word to come to his village, where he wished to hold a council with us. We accordingly went to him, and were followed by all the people of this village, for they had never seen any Frenchmen before. They never appeared tired of gazing at us. They went backwards and forwards to look at us, without making any noise, and this they esteem as a mark of respect. Having arrived at the borough of the chief, we espied him at the door of his cabin, between two old men, who were likewise naked, and standing, holding the calumet towards the sun. He made us a short speech, to congratulate us on our arrival in this country, and presented us with his calumet, which we had to smoke before we could enter into his cabin. This ceremony being over, he conducted us and desired us to sit down upon a mat, and the old men of the nation being present, I thought fit to acquaint them with the subject of our voyage. . . .

"After we sat down, the chief placed a slave near us, and made us a present of the mysterious calumet, which he

thought more valuable to us than the slave. He showed to us by this present his respect for our great captain, and he begged us to remain among them, because of the dangers to which we were exposed in our voyage. I told him that we did not fear death, and that I would esteem it a happiness to lose my life in the service of God, at which he seemed to be much surprised. The council being over, we were invited to a feast, which consisted of four dishes. The first was a dish of sagamite, that is, some Indian meal boiled in water, and seasoned with grease; the master of ceremonies holding a spoonful of it, which he put thrice into my mouth, and then did the like to M. Joliet. The second dish consisted of three fish, whereof he took a piece, and having taken out the bones, and blown upon it to cool it, he put it into my mouth. The third dish was a large dog, which they had killed on purpose, but understanding that we did not eat this animal they sent it away. The fourth was a piece of buffalo meat, of which they put the fattest pieces into our mouths.

"As soon as we had feasted, we were taken to a village of three hundred cabins, attended by an officer, who kept the people from crowding upon us. They presented us with belts, garters, and other articles made of the hair of bears and buffaloes. We slept in the chief's hut, and, on the following morning, we took leave of him, promising to return to his village in four moons. He escorted us to our canoes with nearly six hundred persons, who saw us embarked, evincing in every way the pleasure our visit gave them. It will not be improper for me to relate here what I observed of the customs and manners of this people, which are very different from any I have ever before visited. The word *Illinois* in their language signifies *men;* as if they looked upon all other Indians as beasts. And truly it must be confessed that they are more humane than any others I have ever seen. The short time I remained with them did not permit me to inform myself of their customs and manners as much as I desired. They are

divided into several villages, some of which I have not seen. They live so remote from other nations, that their language is entirely different. They called themselves "Perouarca." Their language is a dialect of the Algonquin. They are very mild in their dispositions. They keep several wives, of whom they are very jealous, and watch them closely. If they behave unchastely, they cut off their ears or nose, of which I saw several who carried those marks of their infidelity. The Illinois are well formed and very nimble. They are skilful with their bows and rifles, with which they are supplied by the Indians who trade with our Frenchmen. This makes them formidable to their enemies who have no firearms. . . ."

Leaving the Illinois villages, the party resumed the descent of the river, "looking for another called Pekitanoui" [Missouri]. Père Marquette continues:

"As we were descending the river we saw high rocks with hideous monsters painted on them, and upon which the bravest Indians dare not look. They are as large as a calf, with head and horns like a goat; their eyes red; beard like a tiger's; and a face like a man's. Their tails are so long that they pass over their heads and between their forelegs, under their belly, and end like a fish's tail. They are painted red, green, and black. They are so well drawn that I cannot believe they were drawn by the Indians. And for what purpose they were made seems to me a great mystery. As we fell down the river, and while we were discoursing upon these monsters, we heard a great rushing and bubbling of waters, and small islands of floating trees coming from the mouth of the Pekitanoui with such rapidity that we could not trust ourselves to go near it. The water of this river is so muddy that we could not drink it. It so discolors the Mississippi as to make the navigation of it dangerous. This river comes from the northwest, and empties into the Mississippi, and on its banks are situated a number of Indian villages. We judged by the compass that the Mississippi discharged itself into the Gulf of Mexico. It would,

however, have been more agreeable if it had discharged itself into the South Sea or Gulf of California. . . .

"After having gone about twenty leagues to the south, and a little less to the southeast, we met another river called Ouabouskiaou [the Ohio], which runs into the Mississippi in the latitude of 36° N. But before we arrived there, we passed through a most formidable passage to the Indians, who believe that a *manitou*, or demon, resides there, to devour travellers, and which the Indians told us of to make us abandon our voyage. This demon is only a bluff of rocks, twenty feet high, against which the river runs with great violence, and being thrown back by the rocks and island near it, the water makes a great noise and flows with great rapidity through a narrow channel, which is certainly dangerous to canoes. The Ouabouskiaou comes from the east. The Chouanous [the Shawnees] live on its banks, and are so numerous that I have been informed there are thirty-eight villages of that nation situated on this river; they are a very harmless people. The Iroquois are constantly making war upon them, without any provocation, because they have no firearms, and carrying them into captivity. At a little distance above the mouth of this river our men discovered some banks of iron ore, of which they brought several specimens into our canoe. There is also here a kind of fat earth, of three different colors, purple, red, and yellow, which turns the water of the river into a deep blood color. We also discovered a red sand which is very heavy. I put some of it upon my oar, which dyed it red. We had seen no reeds, or canes, but they now began to make their appearance, and grew so thick that cattle could not make their way through them. They are of an agreeable green color, and grow very high. Their tops are crowned with long and sharp leaves."

Hitherto the explorers had not been troubled with mosquitoes, but these now began to cause much annoyance. The natives in consequence built their huts upon poles set

close together, on which is "a large hurdle upon which they lie, instead of a floor, and under which they make a fire," to drive away the mosquitoes. The travellers were compelled to use their sails for awnings, and, gliding on thus with the current, they encountered Indians on the banks, armed with guns, awaiting the party's landing. After some mutual misunderstandings, the Indians made friendly invitations to the travellers to land, which they did, and proceeded to the village, where the Frenchmen were hospitably entertained. They found that in addition to guns the natives possessed knives, axes, shovels, glass beads, and bottles in which they kept their powder; and learned that these were bought from the Europeans who lived toward the east, and who had "images and chaplets, and played upon musical instruments." The Indians informed the travellers that the sea was distant only ten days' journey.

The journey was resumed; the river banks were lined with high trees, so that the country could not be observed as had hitherto been possible; after a time the bellowing of buffaloes announced that prairies were near; a little later the party had reached the village of Mitchigamea [probably Helena, Arkansas], whose people were evidently hostile. Marquette says:

"The Indians made a great noise, and appeared in arms, dividing themselves into three parties, one of which stood on the shore, while the others went into their canoes to intercept our retreat, and prevent our escape. They were armed with bows and arrows, clubs, axes, and bucklers, and commenced attacking us. Notwithstanding these preparations, we invoked our patroness, the Holy Virgin, and rowed directly for the shore. As we came near, two young men threw themselves into the water to board my canoe, which they would have done had not the rapidity of the current prevented them; so they returned to the shore and threw their clubs at us, which passed over our heads. It was in vain I showed them the calumet, and made sign to them

that we had not come to fight; they continued to surround us, and were about to pierce us on all sides with their arrows, when God suddenly touched their hearts, and the old men who stood upon the bank stopped the ardor of their young men, and made signs of peace, and came down to the shore, and throwing their bows and arrows into our canoes, made signs for us to come ashore, which we did, not, however, without some suspicions on our part.

"I spoke to them in six different languages, but they did not understand any one of them. At last they brought to us an old man who spoke the Illinois, whom we told that we wished to go as far as the sea, and then made them some presents. They understood what I meant, but I am not sure they understood what I said to them of God, and things concerning their salvation. It was, however, seed thrown on ground which would in time become fruitful. They told us that at the next great village, called Arkansea, eight or ten leagues farther down the river, we could learn all about the sea. They feasted us with sagamite and fish, and we passed the night with them, not, however, without some uneasiness. We embarked early next morning with our interpreters and ten Indians, who went before us in a canoe. Having arrived about half a league from Arkansea, we saw two canoes coming towards us. The captain of one was standing up, holding the calumet in his hand, with which he made signs, according to the custom of the country. He afterwards joined us, inviting us to smoke, and singing pleasantly. He then gave us some sagamite and Indian bread to eat, and going before, made signs for us to follow him, which we did, but at some distance. They had in the meantime prepared a kind of scaffold to receive us, adorned with fine mats, upon which we sat down with the old men and warriors. We fortunately found among them a young man who spoke Illinois much better than the interpreter whom we brought with us from Mitchigamea. We made them some small presents, which they received with great civility, and seemed to admire what I told them

about God, the creation of the world, and the mysteries of our holy faith, telling us, by the interpreter, that they wished us to remain with them for the purpose of instructing them.

"We then asked them what they knew of the sea, and they said we were within ten days' journey of it, but we might perform it in five. That they were unacquainted with the nations below, because their enemies had prevented them from visiting them. That the hatchet, knives, and beads had been sold to them by the nations of the East, and were in part brought by the Illinois, who live four days' journey to the West. That the Indians whom we had met with guns were their enemies, who hindered them from trading with the Europeans, and if we persisted in going any farther, we would expose ourselves to other nations who were their enemies. During this conversation they continued all day to feast us with sagamite, dog meat, and roasted corn out of large wooden dishes. These Indians are very courteous, and give freely of what they have, but their provisions are but indifferent, because they are afraid to go a-hunting on account of their enemies. . . .

"In the evening the chiefs held a secret council, wherein some proposed to kill us; but the great chief opposed this base design, and sent for us to dance the calumet, which he presented us with to seal our common friendship. M. Joliet and I held a council to deliberate upon what we should do—whether to proceed further, or return to Canada, content with the discoveries we had made.

"Having satisfied ourselves that the Gulf of Mexico was in latitude 31° 40′, and that we could reach it in three or four days' journey from the Arkansea [Arkansas River], and that the Mississippi discharged itself into it, and not to the eastward of the Cape of Florida, nor into the California Sea, we resolved to return home. We considered that the advantage of our travels would be altogether lost to our nation if we fell into the hands of the Spaniards, from whom we could expect no other treatment than death or slavery; besides, we saw that we were not prepared to resist the

Indians, the allies of the Europeans, who continually infested the lower part of this river; we therefore came to the conclusion to return, and make a report to those who had sent us. So that, having rested another day, we left the village of the Arkansea, on the seventeenth of July, 1673, having followed the Mississippi from the latitude of 42° to 34°, and preached the Gospel to the utmost of my power to the nations we visited. We then ascended the Mississippi with great difficulty against the current, and left it in the latitude of 38° north, to enter another river [Illinois], which took us to the lake of the Illinois [Michigan], which is a much shorter way than through the river Mesconsin, by which we entered the Mississippi.

"I never saw a more beautiful country than we found on this river. The prairies are covered with buffaloes, stags, goats, and the rivers and lakes with swans, ducks, geese, parrots, and beavers. The river upon which we sailed was wide, deep, and placid for sixty-five leagues, and navigable most all the year around. There is a portage of only half a league into the lake of the Illinois. We found on the banks of this river a village called Kuilka, consisting of seventy-four cabins. They received us very kindly, and we promised to return to instruct them. The chief, with most of the youth of this village, accompanied us to the lake, from whence we returned to the Bay of Puan [Green Bay], about the end of September. If my perilous journey had been attended with no other advantage than the salvation of one soul, I would think my perils sufficiently rewarded. I preached the Gospel to the Illinois of Perouarca for three days together. My instructions made such an impression upon this poor people, that as soon as we were about to depart they brought to me a dying child to baptize, which I did, about half an hour before he died, and which, by a special providence, God was pleased to save."

To reach the mouth of the Mississippi was to be the work of La Salle, a man whose influence in the history

of North America it is difficult to overestimate. He it was who gave to France Louisiana; and its first possession by the French made possible its purchase later by the United States. The story of La Salle's exploration of the "Father of Waters" to its estuary and of the difficulties and discouragements he was compelled to overcome before he could accomplish that purpose, shows him to have been possessed of an enthusiasm, a courage, and an indomitable will rarely exampled in history. Not until his third attempt, and after being twice poisoned by his enemies, having his estate seized by his creditors, and enduring unimaginable labors, did he succeed in his design to reach the ocean by way of the Mississippi. On his first attempt, being stranded on the Illinois without supplies or means of conveyance, he set out to walk to Montreal, a distance of over one thousand miles. After his second failure, he and his friend, Henry de Tonty, paddled their canoes from Lake Michigan to Fort Frontenac. But La Salle would not give up the attempt; and at last he wrested success, as it would seem, from the unwilling hand of destiny. On the 9th of April, 1682, at the mouth of the Mississippi, he formally declared Louis XIV. in possession, by right of discovery, of all the territory drained by the great river, and called it after the name of the king. But La Salle's career seems to show him to have been a pet of misfortune. Even the honor of his achievement was stolen by Hennepin, who hastened back to Paris and wrote a book in which he claimed to have himself explored the Mississippi; and in March, 1687, La Salle was murdered by mutineers of his own company.

At the time of La Salle's great achievement, France had been exploring the North American continent a century and a half. Her navigators had sailed along much of the eastern seaboard, but these expeditions had served no lasting purpose. Verrazano's fiction of a great western sea approaching the Atlantic seacoast about midway had been exploded. The expeditions of Cartier and the subsequent explorations of Champlain, Nicolet, Joliet, and others proved

that two great interior valleys spread out where Verrazano's sea was supposed to roll. But if France had acquired little influence on the eastern shores, she had gained a dominant position in the region of the St. Lawrence; settlements had been formed, missions planted, and trading outposts established. She was continually pushing forward her limits; and with the advantages of the northern outlet in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the southern in the Gulf of Mexico, she enjoyed a position that was full of promise. The finding of this latter marks the term of French discovery in North America.

CHAPTER XV

THE ENGLISH SEA KINGS

In after years, when England had become awakened to the value of colonization, she based her claim to the lands over which she disputed with Spain and France on priority of discovery. With great confidence, she cited the voyages of Cabot and others, when it was convenient so to do. But it nevertheless remains a fact that for seventy years England paid but little attention to transatlantic exploration. At first the discovery of the New World aroused a great wonderment there, as it did all over Europe. And when the Cabots returned from their western voyages they received the attention and honor which their exploits warranted. But seeing that they came back empty-handed, and could only report that they had found a land peopled with almost naked savages, the practical English soon lost their interest, except as they were entertained by tales which crossed the Channel of the wonders to be seen in these far-off countries. Until the time of John Hawkins, England did little but send a few fishing vessels to gather the spoils of the sea in company with the ships of Portugal and Brittany. Being, during this period, at peace with Spain, the English government respected the rights of priority which that country had gained in the only parts of the New World which presented the attractions of ascertained wealth. It cannot be said that England was at all deterred from entering the field of discovery by reason of the allotment made

by Pope Alexander; for it had never been her wont to permit the Church to usurp the Crown's prerogative. Nevertheless, it was the Reformation, and the casting off of all allegiance to Rome, that led England into the path of western enterprise. The Reformation aroused and expanded the spirit of the nation and thus made men ready for any adventurous outlet. The Reformation also resulted in placing England in a position of antagonism and rivalry toward Spain, which in turn brought about the creation of a British navy, trained a race of experienced and daring sea rovers, and led them across the main on voyages of reprisal and plunder.

The first expeditions by which Queen Elizabeth and her subjects became practically interested in the gainful possibilities of America were projected for ends quite different from and far less creditable than those of discovery or even of harassing the Spaniards. They were nothing other than slave-trading ventures. Spain, jealously reserving to herself every sort of traffic with her colonists, had prohibited their purchasing even slaves from foreigners. But the needs of the settlers in the West Indies, Brazil, and elsewhere were great; for wherever the Spaniards gained a foothold their horrible barbarism destroyed the native Indian population. Negroes were early imported; but as Spain had no African possessions the supply was very far from meeting the increasing demand. In this fact John Hawkins saw his opportunity; and though from the pious expressions which plentifully bestrew his writings he must have been taken for a godly man, the ideas of his time were not such as to render the lack of any compunctions of conscience on this matter inconsistent with morality.

John was the son of "Olde M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, a man for his wisedome, valure, experience, and skill in sea causes much esteemed, and beloued of King Henry the 8, and being one of the principall Sea Captaines in the West partes of England in his time."—(Richard Hakluyt, London, 1589.) Old William, in his

time, was not content to make the short voyages to which the seafaring of most of his fellow mariners was confined. He made three trips to the coast of Brazil, calling first at the river Sestos, in Guinea; and though Hakluyt only speaks of his trafficking with the negroes for "Olephants teeth," it is suspected that he carried thence to Brazil merchandise of a darker hue and livelier nature. But whatever may have been the case with the father, it is certain that the son made his voyages to America by way of the African coast with the well-understood purpose of kidnapping negroes and selling them to the Spaniards. It is also probable that Queen Elizabeth had a financial interest in these ventures. Hawkins's first voyage was made in 1562. He sailed with three ships and carried from the coast of Guinea three hundred negroes, which he sold in Hispaniola. Though little is told us of the incidents of this voyage, it is of the highest importance in English maritime history, for by its means the people of that nation first became directly acquainted with the seas of the West Indies.

Having discovered so certain a means of profit, Hawkins was not long in fitting out another squadron, for he sailed again in the year 1564. It is impossible to avoid remarking that the name *Jesus*, being that of one of his ships, is extremely inconsonant with the nature of his business. We read that he was not above aiding a negro king in his feuds, in order that he might receive as pay the negro prisoners taken in the war, and it is not unpleasant to learn that Hawkins was tricked by the dusky potentate. He relates how he hoped to share in the six hundred prisoners taken; but, as he naïvely complains: "The Negro (in which nation is seldom or never found truth) meant nothing less: for that night he removed his camp, and prisoners, so that we were fain to content us with those few which we had gotten ourselves." This particular occurrence happened on his third voyage. On his second he had been more successful; and having sold his slaves to the Spaniards in continental ports, he decided to return with the Gulf Stream by the

coast of Florida. The principal incidents of this voyage, which served so greatly to arouse English interest in American lands, we will quote in the words of Sparke, who sailed with Hawkins on the expedition:

"Thus on the 17th of June [1564] we departed, and on the 20th we fell with the west end of Cuba, called Cape St. Antony, where for the space of three days we doubled along, till we came beyond the shoals, which are twenty leagues beyond St. Antony. And the ordinary breeze taking us, which is the northeast wind, put us on the 24th from the shore, and therefore we went to the northwest to fetch wind, and also to the coast of Florida to have the help of the current, which was judged to have set to the eastward: so on the 29th we found ourselves in twenty-seven degrees, and in the soundings of Florida, where we kept ourselves the space of four days, sailing along the coast as near as we could, in ten or twelve fathom water, having all the while no sight of land.

"On the 5th of July we had sight of certain islands of sand, called the Tortugas (which is low land) where the captain went in with his pinnace, and found such a number of birds, that in half an hour he laded her with them; and if they had been ten boats more they might have done the like. . . . Here we anchored six hours, and then a fair gale of wind springing, we weighed anchor, and made sail towards Cuba, whither we came on the sixth day, and weathered as far as the Table, being a hill so called, because of the form thereof; . . . This hill we thinking to have been the Table, made account (as it was indeed) that Havana was but eight leagues to windward, but by the persuasion of a Frenchman, who made the captain believe he knew the Table very well, and had been at Havana, said that it was not the Table, and that the Table was much higher, and nearer to the seaside, and that there was no plain ground to the eastward, nor hills to the westward, but all was contrary, and that behind the hills to the westward was

Havana. To which persuasion credit being given by some, and they are not of the worst, the captain was persuaded to go to leeward, and so sailed along on the seventh and eighth days, finding no habitations, nor no other Table; . . . he determined to seek water, and to go farther to leeward, to a place (as it is set in the card) called Rio de los Puercos, which he was in doubt of, both whether it were inhabited, and whether there were water or not, and whether for the shoals he might have such access with his ships, that he might conveniently take in the same. And while we were in these troubles, and kept our way to the place aforesaid, Almighty God our guide (who would not suffer us to run into any further danger, which we had been like to have incurred, if we had ranged the coast of Florida along as we did before, which is so dangerous, by reports, that no ship escapeth which cometh thither, as the Spaniards have very well proved the same) sent us on the eighth day at night a fair westerly wind, whereupon the captain and company consulted, determined not to refuse God's gift, but every man was contented to pinch his own belly, whatsoever had happened; and taking the said wind, on the 9th day of July got to the Table, and sailing the same night, unawares overshot Havana; at which place we thought to have watered: but the next day, not knowing that we had overshot the same, sailed along the coast seeking it, and the eleventh day in the morning, by certain known marks, we understood that we had overshot it twenty leagues; in which coast ranging we found no convenient watering place, whereby there was no remedy but to disembogue, and to water upon the coast of Florida; for, to go further to the eastward we could not for the shoals, which are very dangerous; and because the current shooteth to the northeast, we doubted by the force thereof to be set upon them, and therefore durst not approach them; so making but reasonable way the day aforesaid and all the night, the twelfth day in the morning we fell in with the islands upon the cape of Florida, which we could scant double, by the means that fearing the shoals

to the eastwards, and doubting the current coming out of the west, which was not of that force that we made account of, for we felt little or none till we fell with the cape, and then felt such a current that, bearing all sails against the same, yet were driven back again a great pace; . . . and so then altogether they kept on their way along the coast of Florida, and the fifteenth day came to an anchor, and so from twenty-six degrees to thirty degrees and a half, where the Frenchmen abode, ranging all the coast along, seeking for fresh water, anchoring every night because we would overshoot no place of fresh water, and in the day-time the captain in the ship's pinnace sailed along the shore, went into every creek, speaking with divers of the Floridians, because he would understand where the Frenchmen inhabited; and not finding them in twenty-eight degrees, as it was declared unto him, marvelled thereat, and never left sailing along the coast till he found them, who inhabited in a river, by them called the river of May, and standing in thirty degrees and better. . . . In the river of May aforesaid the captain, entering with his pinnace, found a French ship of fourscore ton, and two pinnaces of fifteen ton apiece by her, and speaking with the keepers thereof, they told him of a fort two leagues up, which they had built, in which their captain, Monsieur Laudonnière, was, with certain soldiers therein. To whom our captain sending to understand of a watering place, where he might conveniently take it in, and to have license for the same, he straight, because there was no convenient place but up the river five leagues, where the water was fresh, did send him a pilot for the more expedition thereof, to bring in one of his barques, which, going in with other boats provided for the same purpose, anchored before the fort, into the which our captain went, where he was by the general, with other captains and soldiers, very gently entertained, who declared unto him the time of their being there, which was fourteen months, with the extremity they were driven to for want of victuals, having brought very little with them; . . .

In which perplexity our captain seeing them, spared them out of his ship twenty barrels of meal and four pipes of beans, with divers other victuals and necessaries which he might conveniently spare; and to help them the better homewards, whither they were bound before our coming, at their request we spared them one of our barques of fifty ton. Notwithstanding the great want that the Frenchmen had, the ground doth yield victuals sufficient if they would have taken pains to get the same; but they, being soldiers, desired to live by the sweat of other men's brows; for while they had peace with the Floridians they had fish sufficient by weirs which they made to catch the same; but when they grew to wars the Floridians took away the same again, and then would not the Frenchmen take the pains to make any more. The ground yieldeth naturally grapes in great store, for in the time that the Frenchmen were there they made twenty hogsheads of wine. . . .

"From thence we departed on the 28th of July upon our voyage homewards, having there all things as might be most convenient for our purpose; and took leave of the Frenchmen that there still remained, who with diligence determined to make as great speed after as they could. Thus, by means of contrary winds oftentimes, we prolonged our voyage in such manner that victuals scanted with us, so that we were divers times (or rather the most part) in despair of ever coming home, had not God of His goodness better provided for us than our deserving. In which state of great misery we were provoked to call upon Him by fervent prayer, which moved Him to hear us, so that we had a prosperous wind, which did set us so far shot as to be upon the bank of Newfoundland on St. Bartholomew's Eve, and we sounded thereupon, finding ground at a hundred and thirty fathoms, being that day somewhat becalmed, and took a great number of fresh codfish, which greatly relieved us: and being very glad thereof the next day we departed, and had lingering little gales for the space of four or five days, at the end of which we saw a couple of French ships, and had

of them so much fish as would serve us plentifully for all the rest of the way, the captain paying for the same both gold and silver, to the just value thereof, unto the chief owners of the said ships; but they, not looking for anything at all, were glad in themselves to meet with such good entertainment at sea as they had at our hands. After which departure from them with a good large wind on the 20th of September we came to Padstow, in Cornwall, God be thanked, in safety, with the loss of twenty persons in all the voyage, and with great profit to the venturers of the said voyage, as also to the whole realm, in bringing home both gold, silver, pearls, and other jewels great store.

"His name, therefore, be praised for evermore. Amen."

The French settlement which Hawkins, in 1565, so charitably succored was a Huguenot attempt at colonization; an effort made by the Protestants of France to seek that religious freedom in the New World, the hope of which was afterward to people North America. The river, which Jean Ribault and his party had entered on May Day of 1562, was called by them the River of May; on their arrival they were received by the Indians in a most friendly manner and with much hospitality; on the southern bank of the May the Frenchmen erected a pillar bearing the arms of France, thereby making a claim of possession, which, however, was probably but ill understood by the natives. They then sailed northward and a settlement was made at Port Royal, which was soon abandoned. The story of Jean Ribault's venture is one of the saddest in human annals. While that commander was absent in France collecting recruits and provisions, Laudonnière arrived in St. John's River with a new expedition, which fared no better than Ribault's. Its history is that of war with the Indians, mutiny among the soldiers, and dreadful famine. Immediately after Hawkins had left them, as narrated in Sparke's account, Ribault arrived. But this good fortune was swept away by the almost simultaneous appearance of a Spanish fleet under the command of the bigoted Menendez.

He was commissioned by the Spanish king to conquer Florida, to which country Philip II. did not question but that he held title. It had been invaded by French heretics; therefore, the expedition of Menendez was regarded as a sanctified crusade. The main events of the story may be briefly told—and, indeed, it is not a narrative pleasant to dwell upon. The Spanish commander marched overland, and surprised Fort Caroline while Ribault was absent. Men, women, and children were butchered in one indescribable hour of carnage which engulfed the settlement. In retaliation, Ribault planned to attack the Spaniards at St. Augustine. But his ships were driven ashore by a hurricane, and the Frenchmen were at Menendez's mercy. By perfidious promises of safe conduct, he drew Ribault and his people to surrender themselves. The Spaniard says: "I caused Juan Ribao, with all the rest, to be put to the knife, judging this to be necessary for the service of God our Lord and of your majesty." There is but one relieving feature in this gloomy story; and that is the fact that, in 1568, Dominique de Gourgues exacted vengeance to the full on these murderers of his countrymen. He surprised them in that same Fort Caroline. He hanged the prisoners on the limbs of the same trees on which Menendez had hanged the Huguenots; and where the Spanish commander had placed the legend "Not as Frenchmen, but as heretics," Gourgues placed a tablet with the words "Not as Spaniards, but as murderers." It is impossible to avoid the regret that at that moment Menendez was enjoying high honor for his deeds in the court of Philip II.

During the third quarter of the sixteenth century Spain was the mightiest power in Europe. Enriched by her vast possessions in the New World and strengthened by her continental alliances, her influence dominated Europe. England, whose religious sympathies and political interests favored the Netherlands in their revolt against the Spanish yoke, assisted the Dutch with money and arms. Brought thus into conflict, England and Spain became bitter enemies, an

antagonism which took on the aspect of racial and religious antipathies, traditional among both peoples even to this day. This conflict soon displayed itself in the New World, where Spain was most exposed. Sir John Hawkins, by his voyages, pointed out the way by which England could make the attack with most advantage to herself and weakening effect upon Castile. He also aided in the training of one who was destined to push English maritime enterprise into bold competition with that nation which deemed itself the proprietor, by Divine gift, of the western world. When Hawkins sailed on his third slave-carrying trip, there accompanied him, in command of the *Judith*, a young man named Drake, who was afterward to win himself great renown by his audacious "singeing of the king of Spain's beard."

Hawkins had contented himself by making gain in his slave-dealing exploits; but the breach between England and Spain was every year widening; the secret aid which Elizabeth sent to the revolted Dutch, the constantly growing religious enmity of the two peoples, in which Spain was regarded as the champion of Catholicism and England the bulwark of Protestantism, were causes rapidly making for open hostility. Though nominally at peace with Spain, Elizabeth looked with more than lenity upon the piratical operations of Francis Drake against the Spanish galleons. While on one of these buccaneering expeditions, he crossed the Isthmus of Panama; and beholding the Pacific, and at the same time the city of Panama, the emporium of Spanish wealth, he was seized with a desire to explore that great ocean, and doubted not but that means would be found to make the expedition profitable.

He laid this project before Elizabeth and the statesmen of England, who in private gave it their sanction, and on the 13th of December, 1577, Drake set sail from Plymouth with four ships and a pinnace. Though it was given out that the destination of this fleet was Alexandria, on the 20th of June, 1578, it was anchored in the Strait of Magellan. The Spaniards felt themselves so secure in the belief that

no hostile vessels would venture through these tempestuous waters, that they left their ports on the coasts of Chili and Peru totally unfortified. In these Drake found so many undefended treasure vessels, that in April, 1579, "thinking himself both in respect of his private injuries received from the Spaniards, and also of their contempts and indignities offered to our country and Prince in general, sufficiently satisfied and revenged: and supposing that her Majesty at his return would rest contented with his service, proposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish coasts, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Country." He determined that it would not be expedient to return by way of the strait, both on account of the storms which prevail there and also because he conjectured that the Spaniards might be there awaiting him in force. He therefore decided to follow the course which had previously been taken by Magellan in his circumnavigation of the globe. Sailing northward, he entered a harbor somewhere near San Francisco, though it is very probable that he did not discover or pass through the Golden Gate. Neither can it be said that Drake was the discoverer of California, for the Spaniards had long been acquainted with its southern coast, and Juan Cabrillo had sailed along upper California in 1542. The account by Francis Pretty, who was one of Drake's company, is the first description we have of the Pacific coast of the United States; and from this we will quote the principal passages:

"On the 5th of June, being in forty-three degrees towards the Arctic Pole, we found the air so cold, that our men being grievously pinched with the same, complained of the extremity thereof, and the further we went, the more the cold increased upon us. Whereupon we thought it best for that time to seek the land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plain land, till we came within thirty-eight degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a fair and good bay, with a good wind to

enter the same. In this bay we anchored, and the people of the country having their houses close by the waterside, showed themselves unto us, and sent a present to our General. When they came unto us, they greatly wondered at the things that we brought, but our General (according to his natural and accustomed humanity) courteously entreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessary things to cover their nakedness, whereupon they supposed us to be gods, and would not be persuaded to the contrary: the presents which they sent to our General were feathers, and cauls of net-work. Their houses are digged round about the earth, and have from the uttermost brims of the circle, clifts of wood set upon them, joined close together at the top like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closeness are very warm. Their bed is the ground with rushes strewed on it, and lying about the house, they have the fire in the midst. The men go naked, the women take bulrushes, and comb them after the manner of hemp, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang down about their hips, having also about their shoulders a skin of deer, with the hair upon it. These women are very obedient and serviceable to their husbands. . . . The news of our being there spread through the country, the people that inhabited round about came down, and amongst them the King himself, a man of goodly stature, and comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men; before whose coming were sent two Ambassadors to our General, to signify that their King was coming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about half an hour. This ended, they by signs requested our General to send something by their hand to their King, as a token that his coming might be in peace; wherein our General having satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their King, who marched to us with a princely majesty, the people crying continually after their manner, and as they drew near unto us, so did they strive to behave themselves in their actions with comeliness. . . .

"In the meantime our General gathered his men together and marched within his fenced place, making against their approaching, a very warlike show. . . . The General permitted them to enter within our bulwarks, where they continued their song and dance a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselves, they made signs to our General to sit down, to whom the King and divers others made several orations, or rather supplications, that he would take their province and kingdom into his hand, and become their King, making signs that they would resign unto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subjects. In which, to persuade us the better, the King and the rest, with one consent, and with great reverence, joyfully singing a song, did set the crown upon his head, enriched his neck with all their chains, and offered him many other things, honoring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto, as it seemed, a sign of triumph; which thing our General thought not meet to reject, because he knew not what honor and profit it might be to our country. Wherefore in the name, and to the use of her majesty, he took the sceptre, crown, and dignity of the said country into his hands, wishing that the riches and treasure thereof might so conveniently be transported to the enriching of her kingdom at home, as it abounded in the same. . . .

"Our necessary business being ended, our General with his company travelled up into the country to their villages, where we found herds of deer by thousands in a company, being most large, and fat of body. . . .

"Our General called this country New Albion, and that for two causes, the one in respect of the white banks and cliffs, which lie towards the sea, and the other, because it might have some affinity with our country in name, which sometimes was so called. There is no part of earth here to be taken up, wherein there is not some probable show of gold or silver.

"At our departure hence our General set up a monument of our being there, as also of her majesty's right and title

to the same, namely, a plate, nailed upon a fair great post, whereupon was engraved her majesty's name, the day and year of our arrival there, with the free giving up of the province and people into her majesty's hands, together with her highness's picture and arms, in a piece of sixpence of current English money, under the plate, whereunder was also written the name of our General.

"It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had never been in this part of the country, neither did ever discover the land by many degrees to the southwards of this place."

By Drake's expedition, undertaken with the double object of exploring the Pacific Ocean—the South Sea of the Spaniards—and of crippling England's secret enemy, the English formally acquired their first territory on the western shores of North America, though this acquisition was not followed up. The energies of England were to be directed to the exploration of the lands already discovered on the eastern coasts, and to the founding of the settlements that were soon to develop into well-organized and enterprising colonies.

CHAPTER XVI

ENGLISH EXPLORATION IN VIRGINIA AND NEW ENGLAND

While brave and determined French explorers were extending the bounds of Canada and carrying the Cross and the *fleur-de-lis* to the mouth of the Mississippi, England was not neglectful of her interest in the New World. The growing and threatening power of Spain and the achievements of Hawkins and Drake had aroused her, and under Queen Elizabeth, whose liberal policies and energetic disposition were in themselves a guarantee of prosperity, England evoked within herself that enterprise which put her on a par with the strongest nations of Europe and gave her the dominion of the seas. The spirit of the times, the circumstances which were forced upon the government by reason of its Protestantism, and the alluring prospects in the New World, brought and trained a race of seamen who carried English interests to their highest possible development. The energy and daring of those navigators moulded the subsequent history of two continents and made the reign of Elizabeth an epoch which will be the admiration of all time.

The real beginnings of English enterprise in North America must be attributed to the half-brothers Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh. In 1578, Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to Gilbert by which he was

authorized to employ the next six years in discovering and becoming the proprietor of "such remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, not actually possessed by any Christian prince or people," as he might find. With seven vessels, one of which was commanded by his half-brother Raleigh, Gilbert sailed with the intention of founding a colony in "Norumbega." This name has disappeared from American geography, but it has an eminent place in the annals of early discovery. It was surrounded by much mythical glamour, there being a tradition that Norumbega, could it ever be found, was as beautiful a city as the eyes of man might hope to behold. Its locality was as uncertain as its description was unreliable; but at last the term came to be applied to the parts now known as New England. Lescarbot, quoting a work published at Douay in 1607, says: "Moreover, towards the north (saith the author, after he had spoken of Virginia) is Norumbega, which is known well enough by reason of a fair town, and a great river, though it is not found from whence it hath his name: for the Barbarians do call it Agguncia; at the mouth of this river there is an Island, very fit for fishing. The region that goeth along the sea doth abound with fish, and towards New France there is a great number of wild beasts, and is very commodious for hunting." This Norumbega Gilbert intended to find, and therein settle a colony. But hostilities with the Spaniards crippled his fleet and compelled his return to Plymouth. In June, 1583, he sailed again, with five vessels. The narrative of this voyage was written by Edward Hayes, who took part in it; and it is not only the story of the first English voyage undertaken for the purpose of colonization, but is a most intensely graphic picture of adventurous and devoted courage. Gilbert took formal possession, in the name of Elizabeth, of the island of Newfoundland. In this acquisition he also purposed to include Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, but winter storms and consequent disaster frustrated his plan. One of his largest vessels foundered and went down with all hands.

Gilbert also, whose courage and piety far exceeded his seamanship, was lost with the little vessel to which he had committed himself. Hayes thus describes this most regrettable disaster:

"On Monday, the 9th of September, in the afternoon, the frigate [the *Squirrel*] was near cast away, oppressed by waves, yet at that time recovered; and giving forth signs of joy, the General, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, cried out to us in the *Hind* (so oft as we did approach within hearing), 'We are as near to Heaven by sea as by land,' reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a soldier resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testify he was. On the same Monday night, about twelve o'clock, or not long after, the frigate being ahead of us in the *Golden Hind*, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment we lost the sight, and withal our watch cried the General was cast away, which was too true; for in that moment the frigate was devoured and swallowed up by the sea. Yet still we looked out all that night and ever after, until we arrived upon the coast of England."

It is evident that the promoters of these expeditions looked further afield than was involved in the mere prospect of colonizing the Atlantic seaboard. The time had not yet come when they could see greater advantages in western discovery than were anticipated in providing a way to the East. Tangible wealth, known to exist in India and China, was still the allurement, rather than the development of the possibilities of the newly found land. The men of that time, being unable to form any conception of the vast interior of the American continent, minimized the distance between the Atlantic and the Pacific to a degree which to us is nothing other than amusing. Verrazano's supposed sea reaching from the west toward the Atlantic had not yet been fully discredited. The prevailing view is illustrated in the following extract from Edward Hayes's writings, in

which he gives his reasons for urging on the work of American exploration:

"I will add hereunto an assured hope (grounded upon infallible reasons) of a way to be made part overland, and part by rivers or lakes, into the South seas into Cathay, China, and those passing rich countries, lying in the east parts of the world: which way or passage (supposed to be beyond the uttermost bounds of America, under the frozen Zone) is, nevertheless, held by the opinion of many learned writers and men of judgment now living, to be in these more temperate regions; and that the same shall never be made known, unless we plant first; whereby we shall learn as much by inquisition of the natural inhabitants, as by our own navigations. I will not herein rely upon reports made in the Frenchmen's discoveries; that the sea which giveth passage unto Cathay extendeth from the North, near unto the river of Canada, into 44°, where the same of the savages is called Tadouac.

"Neither upon the discoveries of Jacques Noel, who having passed beyond the three Saults, where Jacques Cartier left to discover, finding the river St. Lawrence passable on the other side or branch; and afterwards, understood of the inhabitants, that the same river did lead into a mighty lake, which at the entrance was fresh, but beyond, was bitter or salt; the end whereof was unknown.

"Omitting therefore these hopes, I will ground my opinion upon reason and nature, which will not fail. For this we know already, that great rivers have been discovered a thousand English miles into that continent of America; namely, that of St. Lawrence or Canada. But not regarding miles more or less, most assuredly, that and other known rivers there do descend from the highest parts or mountains, or middle of that continent, into our North sea. And like as those mountains do cast from them streams into our North seas; even so the like they do into the South sea, which is on the back of that continent.

"For all mountains have their descents toward the seas about them, which are the lowest places and proper mansions of water: and waters (which are contained in the mountains, as it were in cisterns) descending naturally, do always resort unto the seas environing those lands: for example, from the Alps confining Germany, France, and Italy, the mighty river Danube doth take his course east, and dischargeth into the Pontique sea; the Rhine, north, and falleth into the German sea; the Rhone, west, and goeth into the Mediterranean sea; the Po, south, is emptied into the Adriatic, or Gulf of Venice. Other instances may be produced to like effect in Africa; yea, at home amongst the mountains in England.

"Seeing then in nature this cannot be denied, and by experience elsewhere is found to be so, I will show how a trade may be disposed more commodiously into the South sea through these temperate and habitable regions, than by the frozen zones in the supposed passages of Northwest or Northeast: where, if the very moment be omitted of the time to pass, then are we like to be frozen in the seas, or forced to winter in extreme cold and darkness like unto hell: or in the midst of Summer, we shall be in peril to have our ships overwhelmed or crushed in pieces by hideous and fearful mountains of ice floating upon those seas. Therefore four staple-places must be erected, when the most short and passable way is found: that is to say, two upon the North side, at the head and fall of the river; and two others on the South side, at the head and fall also of that other river. Provided, that ships may pass up those rivers unto the staples, so far as the same be navigable unto the land; and afterwards, that boats with flat bottoms may also pass so high, and near the heads of the rivers unto the staples, as possibly they can, even with less than two foot water, which cannot then be far from the heads; as in the river of Chagre.

"That neck or space of land between the two heads of the same rivers, if it be one hundred leagues (which is not

like) the commodities from the North and from the South sea brought thither, may well be carried over the same by horses, mules or beasts of that country apt to labor (as the elk or buffalo) or by the aid of many Savages accustomed to burdens; who shall stead us greatly in these affairs. It is, moreover, to be considered, that all these countries do yield (so far as is known) Cedars, Pines, Fir trees and Oaks, to build, mast, and yard ships; wherefore we may not doubt, but that ships may be builded on the South sea. Then as the ships on the South side may go and return to and from Cathay, China, and other most rich regions of the East world in five months or thereabouts; even so the goods being carried over unto the North side, ships may come thither from England to fetch the same goods and return by a voyage of four or five months usually. So as in every four months may be returned into England the greatest riches of Cathay, China, Japan, and the rest, which will be Spices, Drugs, Musk, Pearl, Stones, Gold, Silver, Silks, Clothes of gold, and all manner of precious things, which shall recompense the time and labor of their transportation and carriage, if it were as far and dangerous as the Moor's trade is from Fess and Morocco (over the burning and movable sands, in which they perish many times and suffer commonly great distresses) unto the river called Niger in Africa, and from thence, up the said river many hundred miles; afterwards overland again, unto the river Nilus; and so unto Cairo in Egypt, from whence they return the way they came. Or if it were a voyage so far as our merchants have made into Persia, even to Ormus, by the way of the North, through Russia into the Caspian sea, and so forth, with payment of many tolls. But this passage over and through the continent of America, as the same shall be always under temperate and habitable climates, and a pleasant passage after it hath been a little frequented: even so it must fall out much shorter than it seemeth, by false description of that continent, which doth not extend so far into the West, as by later navigations is found and described

Sir Francis Drake

Reuiued : *W. Ireland.*

Calling vpon this Dull or Effeminate Age, to folowe his Noble Steps for Golde & Siluer,

By this Memorable Relation, of the Rare Occurrances (neuer yet declared to the World) in a Third Voyage, made by him into the Weſt-Indies, in the Yeares 72. & 73. when *Nombre de Dios* was by him and 52. others only in his Company, ſurpriſed.

Faithfully taken out of the Reporte of M^r. *Chriſtofer Ceely*, *Ellis Hixon*, and others, who were in the ſame Voyage with him.

By *Philip Nichols*, Preacher.

Reviewed alſo by S^r. *Francis Drake* himſelfe before his Death, & Much holpen and enlarged, by diuers Notes, with his owne hand here and there Inſerted.

Set forth by S^r. *Francis Drake* Baronet (his Nephew) now liuing.

LONDON

Printed by *E. A.* for *Nicholas Bourne* dwelling at the South Entrance of the *Royall Exchange*. 1626.

Title-page of *Sir Francis Drake Revived*, published in 1626. *From the original in the New York Public Library, Lenox Branch.*

in more exquisite charts. Besides that, the sea extends itself into the land very far in many places on the South side; whereby our access unto the South ocean shall be so much the shorter."

Fortunately, Raleigh had not accompanied Gilbert on the ill-fated voyage to Newfoundland. He lived to devote many years of earnest thought and tireless endeavor to the carrying out of the enterprise in which his half-brother had perished. In the meantime, he had attained to high favor in Queen Elizabeth's court, had been enriched by the gift of confiscated estates, and had become a high officer in the queen's entourage. It was, therefore, not difficult for him to obtain the duplication in his own name of the charter granted to Gilbert. Raleigh, however, having learned something of the resources of Florida through his association with Le Moyne, who had escaped when Ribault and his men were massacred by Menendez, determined to seek a more southerly latitude than the gaunt and fog-enshrouded coasts of Newfoundland. Beginning his enterprise with careful deliberation, and unwilling to expose a band of colonists to the uncertain chances of any coast they might happen to strike, he, in 1584, sent an expedition, consisting of two vessels under the command of Arthur Barlow and Philip Amadas, to reconnoitre and explore. Barlow wrote an account of this voyage to Sir Walter Raleigh, from which we will quote in presenting the principal features of the expedition:

"On the 27th day of April, in the year of our redemption 1584, we departed the west of England, with two barques well furnished with men and victuals, having received our last and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions and commandments delivered by yourself at our leaving the river of Thames. . . .

"On the 10th of May we arrived at the Canaries, and the 10th of June in this present year we were fallen with

the islands of the West Indies, keeping a more southeasterly course than was needful, because we doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexico, disboguing between the Cape of Florida and Havana, had been of greater force than afterwards we found it to be. . . .

"On the 2d of July we found shoal water, where we smelt so sweet and so strong a smell, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden, abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured that the land could not be far distant. And keeping good watch and bearing but slack sail, the 4th of the same month we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent of firm land, and we sailed along the same one hundred and twenty English miles before we could find any entrance or river issuing into the sea. The first that appeared unto us we entered, though not without some difficulty, and cast anchor about three arquebuse-shots within the haven's mouth, on the left hand of the same; and after thanks given to God for our safe arrival thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adjoining, and to take possession of the same in the right of the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, as rightful Queen and Princess of the same, and after delivered the same over to your use, according to Her Majesty's grant and letters patent, under Her Highness's great Seal. . . .

"We passed from the seaside towards the tops of the hills next adjoining, being but of mean height; and from thence we beheld the sea on both sides to the north and to the south, finding no end of any both ways. This land lay stretching itself to the west, which after we found to be but an island of twenty miles long, and not above six miles broad. Under the bank or hill whereon we stood, we beheld the valleys replenished with goodly cedar trees, and having discharged our arquebuse-shot, such a flock of cranes (the most part white) arose under us, with such a cry redoubled by many echoes, as if an army of men had shouted altogether. . . . We remained by the side of this island

two whole days before we saw any people of the country. The third day we espied one small boat rowing towards us, having in it three persons. . . .

"The next day there came unto us divers boats, and in one of them the king's brother accompanied with forty or fifty men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behavior as mannerly and civil as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina; the country, Wingandacoa; and now, by Her Majesty, Virginia. The manner of his coming was in this sort: he left his boats altogether, as the first man did, a little from the ships by the shore, and came along to the place over against the ships, followed with forty men. When he came to the place, his servants spread a long mat upon the ground, on which he sat down, and at the other end of the mat four others of his company did the like; the rest of his men stood round about him somewhat afar off. When we came to the shore to him, with our weapons, he never moved from his place, nor any of the other four, nor never mistrusted any harm to be offered from us; but, sitting still, he beckoned us to come and sit by him, which we performed; and, being sat, he made all signs of joy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast and afterwards on ours, to show we were all one, smiling and making show the best he could of all love and familiarity. . . .

"After we had presented this his [the king's] brother with such things as we thought he liked, we likewise gave somewhat to the others that sat with him on the mat. But presently he arose and took all from them and put it into his own basket, making signs and tokens that all things ought to be delivered unto him, and the rest were but his servants and followers. . . . And after a few days overpassed, he brought his wife with him to the ships, his daughter, and two or three children. His wife was very well favored, of mean stature, and very bashful. She had on her back a long cloak of leather, with the fur side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same. About her forehead she had a

band of white coral, and so had her husband many times. In her ears she had bracelets of pearls hanging down to her middle (whereof we delivered your worship a little bracelet), and those were of the bigness of good peas. . . .

"The soil is the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful, and wholesome of all the world. There are above fourteen several sweet-smelling timber-trees, and the most part of their underwoods are bays and suchlike. They have those oaks that we have, but far greater and better. After they had been divers times aboard our ships, myself with seven more went twenty mile into the river that runneth toward the city of Skicoak, which river they called Occam; and the evening following we came to an island which they called Roanoke, distant from the harbor by which we entered seven leagues; and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses built of cedar and fortified round about with sharp trees to keep out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turnpike very artificially. When we came towards it, standing near unto the water's side, the wife of Granganimeo, the king's brother, came running out to meet us very cheerfully and friendly. Her husband was not then in the village. Some of her people she commanded to draw our boat on shore, for the beating of the billows. Others she appointed to carry us on their backs to the dry ground, and others to bring our oars into the house for fear of stealing. When we were come into the outer room (having five rooms in her house) she caused us to sit down by a great fire, and after took off our clothes and washed them and dried them again. Some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feet in warm water, and she herself took great pains to see all things ordered in the best manner she could, making great haste to dress some meat for us to eat.

"After we had thus dried ourselves, she brought us into the inner room, where she set on the board standing along the house some wheat-like fermenty, sodden venison, and roasted, fish sodden, boiled, and roasted, melons raw

and sodden, roots of divers kinds, and divers fruits. . . . We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age. The people only care how to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soil affordeth; their meat is very well sodden, and they make broth very sweet and savory. Their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white, and sweet; their dishes are wooden platters of sweet timber. . . .

"Beyond this island there is the mainland, and over against this island falleth into this spacious water the great river called Occam by the inhabitants, on which standeth a town called Pomeiock, and six days' journey from the same is situate their greatest city, called Skicoak, which this people affirm to be very great; but the savages were never at it, only they speak of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they have heard affirm it to be above one hour's journey about.

"Into this river falleth another great river called Cipo, in which there is found great store of mussels, in which there are pearls; likewise there descendeth into this Occam another river called Nomopana, on the one side whereof standeth a great town called Chawanook, and the lord of the town and country is called Pooneo. This Pooneo is not subject to the king of Wingandacoa, but it is a free lord. Beyond this country is there another king, whom they call Menatonon, and these three kings are in league with each other. Towards the southwest, four days' journey, is situate a town called Secotan, which is the southernmost town of Wingandacoa, near unto which twenty-six years past there was a ship cast away, whereof some of the people were saved, and those were white people, whom the country people preserved.

"And after ten days remaining in an out island uninhabited, called Wocokon, they, with the help of some of the dwellers of Secotan, fastened two boats of the country

together, and made masts unto them, and sails of their shirts, and having taken into them such victuals as the country yielded, they departed after they had remained in this out island three weeks; but shortly after it seemed they were cast away, for the boats were found upon the coast, cast-a-land in another island adjoining. . . . Adjoining to this country aforesaid, called Secotan, beginneth a country called Pomovik, belonging to another king, whom they call Piemacum, and this king is in league with the next king adjoining towards the setting of the sun, and the country Newsiok, situate upon a goodly river called Neus. These kings have mortal war with Wingina, king of Wingandacoa; but about two years past there was a peace made between the king Piemacum and the lord of Secotan, as these men which we have brought with us to England have given us to understand; but there remaineth a mortal malice in the Secotans, for many injuries and slaughters done upon them by this Piemacum. . . .

"Beyond this island called Roanoke are many islands very plentiful of fruits and other natural increases, together with many towns and villages along the side of the continent, some bounding upon the islands, and some stretching up further into the land.

"When we first had sight of this country, some thought the first land we saw to be the continent; but after we entered into the haven, we saw before us another mighty long sea, for there lieth along the coast a tract of islands two hundred miles in length, adjoining to the ocean sea, and between the islands two or three entrances. When you are entered between them (these islands being very narrow for the most part, as in some places six miles broad, in some places less, in few more), then there appeareth another great sea, containing in breadth in some places forty, in some fifty, in some twenty miles over, before you come unto the continent; and in this enclosed sea there are above a hundred islands of divers bignesses, whereof one is sixteen miles long, at which we were, finding it a most

pleasant and fertile ground, replenished with goodly cedars, and divers other sweet woods, full of currants, of flax, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leisure to view. Besides this island there are many as I have said, some of two, of three, of four, of five miles, some more, some less, most beautiful and pleasant to behold, replenished with deer, conies, hares, and divers beasts, and about them the goodliest and best fish in the world, and in greatest abundance. . . ."

In return for his success in finding a land which, for its beauty and desirableness, the queen, in compliment to herself, named Virginia, Raleigh received the reward of knighthood. It was many years, however, before a settletlement gained permanent and prosperous hold on the shores of Pamlico. That this was at last achieved was owing to the undiscouraged perseverance of Raleigh, who, so late as 1602, wrote of his Virginia: "I shall yet live to see it an English nation." In the meantime, England's hands were filled and her whole attention occupied with the work of securing her own life against the "Invincible Armada," with which Philip of Spain designed with one crushing blow to destroy his rivals on the high seas and the renegades from the Catholic faith. A devastating hurricane and English ships, manned by sailors whose hearts were no less stubborn than the oak of which those vessels were constructed, having warded off this blow and crippled forever the power of Spain, England found herself in possession of the right of way of the Atlantic and of the opportunity to further her colonizing enterprises to the full extent of her resources.

The expeditions of Sir Walter Raleigh had, so far at least, resulted in training mariners who were now prepared to carry the work of exploration on to manifest success. In 1602, Raleigh, Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, and others, combined in the equipment of the *Concord*, a small vessel designed for the exploration and colonization

of "the North part of Virginia." It was from the Tower, where he had been imprisoned through the machinations of jealous enemies, that Raleigh was compelled to watch this new undertaking. But no misfortunes of his own could diminish his interest in what he had chosen as the object of his life. It is also pleasant to note that the patron of Shakespeare was a partner in the equipment of a voyage from which was to date the history of Anglo-Saxondom in North America. In the spring of 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold sailed in the *Concord* from Falmouth with thirty-two persons, the majority of whom were to be left on the Atlantic coast as colonists. After a voyage of seven weeks he entered Massachusetts Bay, and probably cast anchor in what is now known as Salem Harbor. From thence he sailed southward to a point of land which a great catch of fish induced him to designate Cape Cod. Gosnold, with a few others of his men, went ashore here, and they were the first Englishmen who are recorded as having trod the soil of Massachusetts. They followed Nantucket Sound until they came to Cuttyhunk Island, the most southwesterly of the Elizabeth Islands. Here they determined to establish a settlement, and made preparations to do so, but lack of provisions and hostility on the part of the natives induced them to abandon this purpose and return to England. Though seemingly unsuccessful, the voyage was really fraught with great results; for, owing to the reports of it which were circulated, intense interest was created in England, and soon other voyagers, with better equipment, were on their way to the shores of New England. In April, 1603, the merchants of Bristol sent out two vessels under the command of Martin Prynne, who explored the coast from Maine to Martha's Vineyard, and, after loading his ships with sassafras, returned with a good report of the country. In 1605, George Weymouth, who had been put in command of a vessel owned and equipped by Lord Southampton and Lord Wardour, penetrated fifty or sixty miles into Maine, by ascending Penobscot River.

Hitherto English attempts at settlement had not been successful on the Atlantic coast, but a new era had dawned; and as the result of the business-like methods adopted, as well as of the pertinacious courage of those who participated in those ventures, a turning point was reached. Under charters granted by King James, companies were formed which were granted the exclusive right to explore and occupy the lands in question. The first of these was the London Company. Its principal members were Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Captain Edward Maria Wingfield, and the Rev. Richard Hakluyt. To the last mentioned America owes an inestimable debt, both for his assiduous energy in promoting the work of exploration and for his contributions to the history of those by whom it was directly accomplished. There was also the Plymouth Company, the charter members of which were George Popham, Raleigh Gilbert, Thomas Hanham, and William Parker. But this company was short-lived and failed to accomplish anything of importance. Gilbert and Popham were sent out by it in May, 1607, with two vessels. They explored the Maine coast and endeavored to plant a settlement at the mouth of the Kennebec. Misfortune, however, attended their efforts; Popham died, their stores were burned, and when Gilbert was recalled to England by the death of his brother all were ready to abandon the enterprise.

The time had come, however, when the great discouragements attending transatlantic ventures could no longer postpone the thorough exploration and initial settlement by Englishmen of those lands lying between French and Spanish possessions in America. On the 19th of December, 1606, Christopher Newport sailed from London with three ships provided and equipped by the London Company. He was in command of the *Sarah Constant*, while the captains of the *Goodspeed* and the *Discovery* were Bartholomew Gosnold and John Ratcliffe. With them went Captain John Smith, the most romantic figure in the English exploration of America. His early life had been filled with

daring exploits and strange experiences in many lands. He was enamored of adventure, and it would seem, from his own narrative, had almost exhausted the changes and chances of the Old World, when Newport's expedition offered him the opportunity to seek novel experiences in the New. An affair more unpleasant than interesting took place before the ending of the voyage. Smith quarrelled over some matter with Wingfield, who was one of the company, with the result that the former was charged with mutiny and so reached Virginia in irons. The little fleet arrived in Chesapeake Bay on the 26th of April, 1607, driven thither by storm. On the 13th of May they reached the peninsula which seemed to them the proper situation for a settlement.

Smith was now given his liberty, but he was refused admittance to the governing council of the expedition, of which it was found he was a member by virtue of the sealed orders which Newport had brought from England. The present site of Jamestown was selected for a settlement. While a fort was being built, Smith, who was not allowed to busy himself in the government of the undertaking, started with Captain Newport and a party of the company to explore James River, and proceeded as far as where Richmond now stands. On this expedition they entered into friendly relations with the Indians, the Powhatans, a tribe of the Algonquins. On their return to Jamestown, however, they found that the natives in its vicinity were of a different tribe and disposition. The settlement had been attacked and blood had been shed. This increased the gloom which beset the outlook of the band, who were left with scanty provisions when Newport returned to England. Previous to his sailing, John Smith, having demanded a trial by jury, was acquitted of all charges and given his position in the council. During the months of starving which ensued before Newport returned with the promised supplies, it was the tact and enterprise of Smith that kept the little band of settlers in existence. They were obliged to subsist on the shortest of rations,

and those of a miserable sort. As Smith wrote: "Had we been as free from all sins as gluttony and drunkenness, we might have been canonized for saints." A small can of boiled barley divided among five men was their daily allowance. But the intrepid spirit of Smith could not rest in idle despair. On the 10th of December he went on an exploring expedition up Chickahominy River. With two Englishmen and two Indian guides he proceeded as far as White Oak Swamp. There he was attacked by a band of Indians led by the brother of the chief of the Powhatans. They captured him and tied him to a tree preparatory to putting him to death by torture, when his active wit suggested the possibility of diverting their purpose by the exhibition of a pocket compass. This instrument excited their wonder and had the effect of determining them to carry Smith to Powhatan. In the presence of that chief he would have suffered death, had not Pocahontas, Powhatan's daughter, taken pity on the white stranger, and by embracing him saved him from the tomahawks as they were about to fall on his head. It has been the custom of late years to discredit this romantic story; but the burden of disproof, which rests with those who allege its falsity, has never been adequately sustained, and our admiration of Pocahontas's magnanimity may still with justice remain unabated.

John Smith was released, and returned to Jamestown in time to join in the glad welcome which was awarded Newport, who on the same day arrived from England with supplies and reinforcements. In the summer of 1608, Smith continued his exploration of Chesapeake Bay, and also ascended the Potomac, the Patapsco, and the Susquehanna. In September he was made president of the council. Yet the London Company do not seem to have been satisfied with his labors; for they demanded that he send them a goodly sample of the gold of the land, or else find his way to the Pacific Ocean. With an intractable, factious, and incapable band of men for his support, John Smith was likely to accomplish little that would give pleasure to the

company, who were clamoring for a return for their expenditure. But he struggled on until, wounded by an explosion, he was compelled to take the opportunity to return to London. George Percy was left in command; but his was a nerveless authority at a time when only the best judgment and absolute firmness could save the colony. The small stock of supplies was improvidently consumed before winter had well set in. The settlers were reduced to such desperation by hunger, that a man killed his wife, and lived on her body, which he salted, for many days. A band deserted the settlement and, stealing a pinnace, took to the sea as pirates. At Smith's departure there were five hundred persons at Jamestown; by May these had been reduced by starvation and disease to a bare sixty. Then that miserable remainder determined to abandon Virginia and endeavor to reach Newfoundland in their pinnaces; from thence they hoped they might find passage to England at the close of the fishing season. On the 7th of June, 1610, they drifted down the river with this intention; but in Hampton Roads they met the longboat of Lord Delaware, the Governor of Virginia, who had come to their relief. Virginia was saved; and from this moment its annals pass from the history of exploration into that of colonization.

With his departure from the colony in September, 1609, John Smith's connection with Virginia terminated, and we lose sight of him until 1614. In that year two ships were fitted out by some London merchants for the purpose of exploring and trading in North Virginia, as New England was then called. One of these vessels was commanded by Smith and the other by Captain Thomas Hunt. They reached land on April 30th, at Manhegin, on the coast of Maine. During this voyage Smith extensively explored New England, and on his return home was able to present to Prince Charles—afterward Charles I.—a map of the country between Penobscot and Cape Cod. This map included "barbarous names" by which the Indians designated the points noticed. Smith asked Prince Charles to

substitute others more euphonious; but it is well established that he himself was the author of the name New England. Hunt was left behind with instructions to load his vessel with fish, which he was to dispose of in Spain; but with the deliberate object in view of rendering the Indians so hostile that colonization would be impossible, he decoyed twenty-four of those people on board his ship, and, sailing with them to Malaga, he sold them as slaves.

On his arrival in Plymouth, England, John Smith gave such an account of the resources of New England that several merchant adventurers in that place were induced to fit out another expedition to that country. With this, consisting of two vessels, the explorer sailed in March, 1615; but a storm disabled his ships and he was obliged to put back into Plymouth. He sailed again on the 24th of June, accompanied by sixteen settlers besides the crew, but was captured by a French pirate and carried to Rochelle, where he was imprisoned for some months.

During this time, in order, as he informs us, "to keep my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate," John Smith wrote an account of his voyages to New England. In this the country is described with a view to its fitness for colonization. The close attention which Smith gave to those features of the land which commended it as a territory for permanent settlement indicates that, notwithstanding the romantic nature of his career, he was eminently a man of practical affairs. An interest attaches to this account—though the narrative itself hardly warrants reproduction—in that it is the first published recommendation of New England as being suitable for colonization. In 1616, John Smith was made Admiral of New England. But he had no direct share in the movement which eventually peopled the shores of Massachusetts, though he promoted colonization by means of his many publications.

CHAPTER XVII

HENRY HUDSON AND DUTCH EXPLORATION

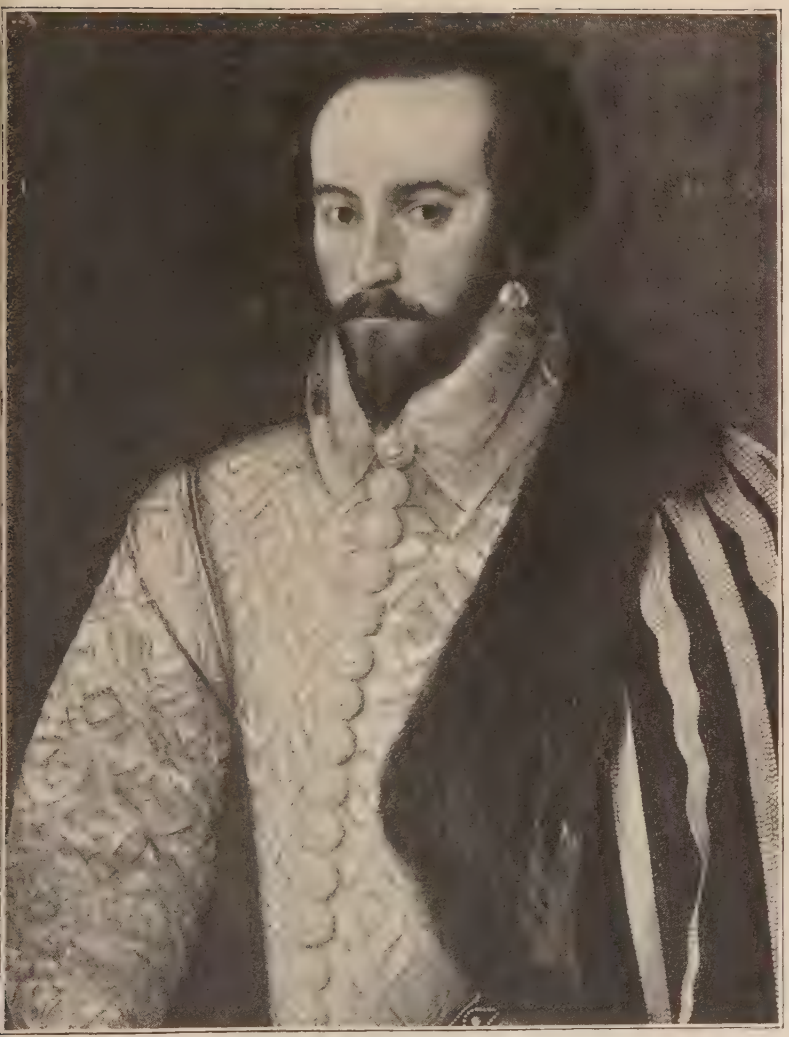
The time had now come when navigators could not be satisfied to leave unexplored any inlet or indentation of the Atlantic seaboard. With the desire for geographical exactitude as the purpose, and the hope of yet finding the passage to Cathay as a strong incentive, the prows of exploring craft were thrust into every opening. The famous river which was destined to be the gateway to the continent was no longer to flow in its unheralded beauty and mystery: its waters were to receive the ship of the skilful sailor who, in the service of a Dutch company, was to give his name to the river he explored.

There are two errors which have made an impression on the popular mind concerning Henry Hudson: first, that he was a Dutchman; and secondly, that he was the original discoverer of the great river which is called by his name. The first misconception arises from the correlated facts that his baptismal name is freqently spelled "Hendrick," and that he explored the river while in the service of the Netherlands. As is unfortunately the case with many of the personages whose accomplishments have immortalized them in history, extremely little is known of Hudson's early life. His contemporaries, while intensely interested in his performances, in no degree anticipated the biographical curiosity of posterity. Hence, while we have full records of Hudson's voyages by various hands, there is nothing certain about his birth and parentage, or his career previous to 1607. That

he was not a Dutchman is sufficiently attested by the fact that he could not read the language of Holland, and was unable to make use of a nautical document written in Dutch until a translation of it had been made for him into English. That he was English was proved by the fact that King James, after his Hudson River voyage, compelled the explorer to return to the English service.

In May, 1607, Hudson made a voyage in search of the northwest passage to the Orient; and in the following year he sailed to Nova Zembla, also in the hope of finding an opening through the American continent. Those journeys we shall notice more fully in the succeeding chapter. Though he had failed of his purpose, the fact that Hudson had penetrated further north than any other navigator was soon noised abroad, and more than one government sought to obtain his services.

The people of Holland, having recovered from the oppression which they had endured under Philip II., were now, under the States General, enjoying an era of remarkable national prosperity. Their navy was strong enough to make reprisals on Spanish vessels returning from the South American colonies, and they had seized the Portuguese colonies in Java and Sumatra. To reach the Spice Islands by the shortest possible route was therefore a greater desideratum to the Dutch than to any other nation. The Dutch East India Company, a powerful joint stock association, was formed in 1602, for the purpose of carrying on and monopolizing trade in the East. To this company a northwest passage meant very greatly increased profits and quick returns. Having heard of Hudson's promising attempts, they decided that in no man could they more securely place their hopes of finding a northwest way to the Spice Islands. They engaged him for the third voyage which he made across the Atlantic; and this expedition resulted far more advantageously—if for only a short period—for the people of Holland than did the northwest passage, when at last it was found, for mankind in general.



Sir Walter Raleigh. *From the original painting by Zucharo, now in the National Portrait Gallery, London.*

It is reasonable to suppose that more than one or two chance navigators had entered what is now New York harbor and possibly sailed some distance up the river before it was ascended by Hudson. Probably as early as 1498, the bay was discovered by Sebastian Cabot. As we have seen, Verrazano entered the harbor of New York in 1524. His description of the Narrows, through which "a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea," is unmistakable; and when he draws a picture of "a most beautiful lake three leagues in circuit," over which Indians bedecked with feathers sped in their canoes, we are forced to the conclusion that he saw the southern end of the island of Manhattan. So also did Estevan Gomez in 1525. This Portuguese pilot was most enthusiastic in his belief in the possibility of finding a passage to the "South Sea" somewhere between Newfoundland and Florida. In his time he was considered one of the most eminent geographers of the day, though, owing to the light estimation in which, for some unaccountable reason, he was held by Peter Martyr, he has been somewhat neglected by later historians. He went over much of the ground explored by Verrazano, and left a far more intelligible chart than did the Florentine. In fact, the chart made by Gomez was employed as the basis of nearly all the maps of the present Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island that were made during the latter part of the sixteenth century. He sailed toward the close of the year 1524, in a small vessel provided by Charles V. We have it on the authority of Oviedo that he made extensive explorations between the fortieth and forty-first degrees of latitude. From there he sailed southward to the West Indies. As it was the main purpose of his voyage to search the American coast for a strait leading to the Pacific, and it is known that he explored the land in the neighborhood of forty and forty-one degrees, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that he must at least have entered New York Bay. In fact, on his chart he drew several rivers, and one is so placed with certain islands at

its mouth that it corresponds with the Hudson. At any rate, Spanish seamen, who afterward followed in his course, knew Hudson River as Rio de Gomez.

In 1542, Captain Jean Allefonse, who sailed with Roberval, undertook an expedition to the south, starting from the Gulf of St. Lawrence. As he was also searching for a western passage, it is very likely that he penetrated Hell Gate. In a book published in 1559, describing his voyages, he writes of the town of Norumbega, and also of the river of Norumbega, which he says is salt ninety miles from its mouth. In Mercator's map, made in 1569, Norumbega is placed upon the island of New York. Allefonse also expresses the belief that if the river of Norumbega were followed, entrance would be found into the St. Lawrence. In some of the early maps the Hudson and the St. Lawrence are shown as thus united.

If these indications are correctly interpreted and Allefonse's Norumbega was in reality the Hudson, that navigator may be believed to have ascended the river as far, perhaps, as Poughkeepsie. But from his time until Henry Hudson's voyage there is no record of its having been explored. Consequently, despite the fact that he was preceded by others, fame is not mistaken in awarding its laurels to Henry Hudson as the explorer of the river which bears his name.

He set out on this memorable voyage on the 4th of April, 1609. His one vessel, the *Half Moon*, was of only eighty tons burden, and his crew consisted of eighteen sailors. In returning from the north he sailed into Penobscot Bay on the 18th of July. There Hudson was obliged to refit with a new mast. From Penobscot he went to Cape Cod and then on to the Accomac peninsula. Without exploring this coast, he returned northward to Delaware Bay, which he reached on the 28th of August. Discovering there signs of its being the mouth of a great river, and as he was looking for a transcontinental strait, he again weighed anchor.

On the 1st of September, he sailed northward and sighted "land from the west by north to the northwest by north, all like broken islands" [Sandy Hook], along which he coasted northeast by north. He found many shoals at the mouth of a great bay which he judged was ten leagues distant from the land first sighted, and the land lying north by east from the bay, and "a great stream out of the bay." Far to the northward "we saw high hills." Juet, who accompanied Hudson and wrote an account of the voyage, says: "This is a very good land to fall with, and a pleasant one to see."

On the 3d, at ten in the morning, Hudson weighed anchor and stood to the northward, and at three in the afternoon reached "three great rivers." He "stood along to the northernmost," but did not enter it, as there were but ten feet of water on the bar. He then "cast about to the southward," and, finding plenty of water, anchored for the night. On the morning of the 4th, after sending a boat to sound, he found a good harbor further up, and entered with the ship. The boat "went on land [very possibly Coney Island] with our net to fish." While the vessel was lying to, the people of the country came aboard, "seeming very glad of our coming."

On the 5th, the bay was sounded, and the ship's men landed on the southern shore, where they saw "great store of men, women, and children, who gave them tobacco;" other natives came aboard the ship, some dressed in feather mantles, others in skins and furs; hemp was also brought by some of the women. On the following day "our master sent John Colman, with four other men in our boat, over to the north side to sound the other river, being four leagues from us. They found by the way shoal water, two fathoms; but at the north of the river eighteen, and twenty fathoms, and very good riding for ships; and a narrow river to the westward, between two islands. The lands, they told us, were as pleasant with grass and flowers and goodly trees as ever they had seen, and very sweet smells came from

them. So they went in two leagues and saw an open sea, and returned; and as they came back, they were set upon by two canoes, the one having twelve, the other fourteen men. The night came on, and it began to rain, so that their match went out; and they had one man slain in the fight, which was an Englishman, named John Colman, with an arrow shot into his throat, and two more hurt. It grew so dark that they could not find the ship that night, but labored to and fro on their oars. They had so great a stream, that their grapnel would not hold them.

"The 7th was fair, and by ten of the clock they returned aboard the ship, and brought our dead man with them, whom we carried on land and buried, and named the point after his name, Colman's Point. Then we hoisted in our boat, and raised her side with waste boards for defence of our men. So we rode still all night, having good regard to our watch."

The 8th, 9th, and 10th were occupied in barter with the natives, who visited Hudson's ship in considerable numbers, and in making soundings. On the 11th, he entered the "other river" [the Hudson] and pursued his course for three days, being visited by the natives without any show of fear, and receiving abundance of provisions and tobacco. On "the 14th, in the morning, being very fair weather, the wind southeast, we sailed up the river twelve leagues, and had five fathoms, and five fathoms and a quarter less; and came to a strait between two points, and had eight, nine, and ten fathoms; and it trended northeast by north, one league: and we had twelve, thirteen, and fourteen fathoms. The river is a mile broad: there is very high land on both sides [near Peekskill]. Then we went up northwest, a league and a half deep water. Then northeast by north, five miles; then northwest by north, two leagues, and anchored. The land grew very high and mountainous. The river is full of fish."

By the 17th the *Half Moon* had reached a point which was probably near Albany, where Juet says they "found

shoals in the middle of the channel and small islands, but seven fathoms water on both sides." Since his early conflicts with the natives Hudson had mistrusted them, but his intercourse had been of a friendly character, and they had bartered freely. On the 22d, Hudson sent a boat to take soundings higher up, and, finding the river too shallow, he determined to return on his course.

"The 25th was fair weather, and the wind at south a stiff gale. We rode still and went on land to walk on the west side of the river, and found good ground for corn and other garden herbs, with great store of goodly oaks and walnut trees, and chestnut trees, yew trees and trees of sweet wood in great abundance, and great store of slate for houses and other good stones." This was probably near Catskill Landing.

The journey was interrupted by daily intercourse with the natives, who are described as being most gentle and lovable in their conduct and free in their hospitality. On the 29th, a point was reached that corresponds to Beacon Hill, below Poughkeepsie; for "the high land hath many points and a narrow channel. . . . So we rode quietly all night in seven fathoms water."

From the 30th of September till the 4th of October, Hudson continued his journey back to the mouth of the river, meeting with opposition from some of the natives. Juet describes the conclusion of the river voyage thus:

"The 4th was fair weather, and the wind at north-northwest; we weighed and came out of the river, into which we had run so far. Within a while after, we came out also of the great mouth of the great river, that runneth up to the northwest, borrowing upon the northern side of the same, thinking to have deep water; for we had sounded a great way with our boat at our first going in, and found seven, six, and five fathoms. So we came out that way, but we were deceived, for we had but eight foot and a half water: and so three, five, three, and two fathoms and a half. And then three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, and ten fathoms.

And by twelve of the clock we were clear of all the inlet. Then we took in our boat, and set our mainsail and sprit-sail, and our topsails, and steered away east-southeast, and southeast by east off into the main sea: and the land on the southern side of the bay or inlet did bear at noon west and by south four leagues from us."

As Hudson did not give names to the points noted, and Juet's description is far from being minute, it is impossible to follow with any degree of certainty the progress day by day up and down the river. Many students have endeavored to do so by computing the distances given in the log and comparing them with the topographical features mentioned. But in many cases diverse conclusions are reached. When, however, on the 14th of September, we find the *Half Moon* in a strait between two points and trending northeast by north, and the river above a mile wide with very high land on both sides, there is good reason to suppose that Stony and Verplanck Points are those mentioned and that Hudson was not far from the present site of Peekskill. On the 16th, when the natives brought aboard Indian corn, pompions, and tobacco, they were near that part of the river which was overlooked by the city of Hudson. Just how far up the *Half Moon* went it is impossible to determine; but it was probably not far from the present site of Troy. It was here that Hudson's men overcame the natives by a stratagem hardly less effective, though very much less cunningly devised, than that by which the Greeks overcame the inhabitants of ancient Troy. Juet and the others plied the natives with "much wine and *aqua vitæ*," to ascertain "whether they had any treachery in them." The Indian disposition seems to have stood the test better than did the native head.

Hudson's purpose was to return to Amsterdam; but the Englishmen in his crew were determined to land at Dartmouth. From there he sent his report to the Dutch Company, in whose service he was employed, and also a request that he be again equipped for a northern voyage. But King

James, hearing of his discovery, determined that England could not afford to lend so valuable a seaman to Holland. Hudson, therefore, was obliged to reënter the service of the Muscovy Company.

The *Half Moon* having been sent out by the Dutch East India Company, Hudson's discovery, according to the ruling that was prevalent in those times, gave Holland the title to the lands bordering on the river. But the directors of the company did not see fit to avail themselves of this privilege. Spain still claimed title to all the American coast; and the Holland burghers were as yet loath to rekindle the war with his Catholic majesty. But private merchants of Amsterdam began a trade with the Indians on Manhattan, and by 1613 a tiny settlement was begun, over which floated the Netherlands flag; for during that year Captain Argall, returning to Virginia from his expedition against the French at Port Royal, sailed through the Narrows, and finding the Dutch there compelled them to hoist the British flag. They hauled it down, however, as soon as the truculent Englishman was out of sight. In 1614, the States General adopted an ordinance which gave the monopoly of trade to all explorers in the localities which they might discover. This stimulated Dutch merchants and seamen to equip and undertake new expeditions; and Adrian Block, Hendrick Christiansen, and Cornelius May sailed with three vessels to Manhattan. Block's ship was burnt, but he built a small yacht forty-four feet in length, and sturdily set about the work of exploration. He discovered East River and gave the whole of it the name Hellegat. He sailed along the Sound until he came to Connecticut River, which he ascended to the point now occupied by Hartford. Round Cape Cod he went, and a memorial of his voyage remains in the name of Block Island. There he fell in with Christiansen, who seems to have been exploring the same waters. To Captain May, who had gone southward, is due the name of one of the capes at the entrance of Delaware Bay, which he explored.

On the strength of the discoveries and tradings of these seamen the Dutch New Netherlands Company was formed, and was granted a monopoly by the States General. This organization was succeeded in 1621 by the West India Company, to which the States General committed the right and authority to colonize and govern New Netherlands.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE SEARCH FOR THE NORTHWEST PASSAGE

The story of the search for a northwest passage to Oriental seas covers a period from 1497, when the coast of Labrador was explored and the entrance to Hudson Strait discovered by John Cabot, down to 1854, when Captain MacClure demonstrated that there is continuous but not navigable water between Bering Strait on the west and Melville Sound on the east. To recount the expeditions sent forth, the seamen engaged, the wealth expended, the courage exemplified, the toils endured, the suffering involved, the hopes destroyed, and the lives sacrificed, in this fruitless though scientifically interesting quest, would require many volumes. We shall do no more than refer to some of the earlier explorers, and cite from the narratives of those men whose voyages marked out the chief geographical features of the frozen north—Frobisher, Baffin, and Hudson.

Eighty years had elapsed since the Cabots had failed to find their way to China, before another attempt was made by the first named of these men.

Sir Martin Frobisher was a mariner trained from his youth up. In his early years his kinsman, Sir John Yorke, "perceiving him to be of great spirit and bold courage, and the natural hardness of the body, sent him to the hot country of Guinea." It was probably on such a slave-hunting

expedition as his contemporary, Sir John Hawkins, was wont to make. It seems, however, that Frobisher's seafaring enterprises did not place him in a position of affluence; for in after years, when he had given long study to the problem of the northwest, and had come to the conclusion that such a voyage was "easy to be performed," he had not the means to put his project into execution.

A curious document found among the State papers of Elizabeth's reign, pertaining to the year 1575, furnishes the data on which the men of that time believed in the possibility of discovering a passage through the straits out of the North Sea into the South Sea.

"In the country of America towards the north, about the sixty degree, there is an elbow of a land lying very far into the sea, which is called the head of Laborer. And on the south side there is a very broad bay lying towards the west, and of such a breadth that it seemeth, both in the very entry and after, to be a great sea, for it lieth out about three or four hundred miles, and hath very many islands, and all the year through there are in the same huge heaps of ice, which bay is called Dusmendas. . . .

"But to find out the passage out of the North Sea into the South we must sail to the sixty degree, that is from sixty-six unto sixty-eight. And this passage is called the Narrow Sea, or Strait of the Three Brethren; in which passage, at no time in the year, is ice wont to be found. The cause is the swift running down of sea into sea. In the north side of this passage John Scolus, a pilot of Denmark, was in anno 1476.

"The south side also of this passage was found of a Spaniard in anno 1541, who travelling out of New Spain with a certain band of soldiers was sent by the viceroy into this coast; who, when he was come to this coast, found certain ships in a certain haven which came thither out of Cataya laden with merchandise, having in their flags hanging out of the foreships certain birds painted, called

alcatrizæ. The mariners also declared by signs that they came out of Cataya into that port in XXX. days."

It was on these grounds that Frobisher went to Queen Elizabeth's court to seek aid. The narrative of his first expedition was written by George Best, who accompanied him, from which we quote:

"He prepared two small barques of twenty and five-and-twenty tons a-piece, wherein he intended to accomplish his pretended voyage. Wherefore, being furnished with the foresaid two barques, and one small pinnace of ten tons burden, having therein victuals and other necessaries for twelve months' provision, he departed upon the said voyage from Blackwall, on the 15th of June, anno domini 1576.

"One of the barques wherein he went was named the *Gabriel*, and the other the *Michael;* and, sailing northwest from England, upon the 11th of July he had sight of an high and ragged land, which he judged to be Friesland (whereof some authors have made mention), but durst not approach the same by reason of the great store of ice that lay along the coast, and the great mists that troubled them not a little. Not far from thence he lost company of his small pinnace, which, by means of the great storm, he supposed to be swallowed up by the sea, wherein he lost only four men.

"Also the other barque, named the *Michael*, mistrusting the matter, conveyed themselves privily away from him, and returned home, with great report that he was cast away.

"The worthy captain, notwithstanding these discomforts, although his mast was sprung, and his topmast blown overboard with extreme foul weather, continued his course towards the northwest, knowing that the sea at length must needs have an ending, and that some land should have a beginning that way; and determined, therefore, at the least to bring true proof what land and sea the same might be

so far to the northwestwards, beyond any that man hath heretofore discovered. And on the 20th of July he had sight of an high land, which he called Queen Elizabeth's Foreland, after Her Majesty's name. And sailing more northerly along that coast, he descried another foreland, with a great gut, bay, or passage, dividing as it were two lands or continents asunder. There he met with store of exceeding great ice all this coast along, and coveting still to continue his course to the northwards, was also by contrary winds detained overthwart these straits, and could not get beyond. Within a few days after, he perceived the ice to be well consumed and gone, either there engulfed in by some swift currents or indrafts, carried more to the southwards of the same straits, or else conveyed some other way; wherefore he determined to make proof of this place, to see how far that gut had continuance, and whether he might carry himself through the same into some open sea on the back side, whereof he conceived no small hope; and so entered the same on the 21st day of July, and passed above fifty leagues therein, as he reported, having upon either hand a great main or continent. And that land upon his right hand as he sailed westward he judged to be the continent of Asia, and there to be divided from the firm [land] of America, which lieth upon the left hand over against the same.

"This place he named after his name, Frobisher's Straits, like as Magellanus at the southwest end of the world, having discovered the passage to the South Sea (where America is divided from the continent of that land, which lieth under the South Pole), and called the same straits Magellan's Straits.

"After he had passed sixty leagues into this aforesaid strait, he went ashore, and found signs where fire had been made.

"He saw mighty deer that seemed to be mankind, which ran at him, and hardly he escaped with his life in a narrow way, where he was fain to use defence and policy to save his life.

"In this place he saw and perceived sundry tokens of the peoples resorting thither; and, being ashore upon the top of a hill, he perceived a number of small things floating in the sea afar off, which he supposed to be porpoises, or seals, or some kind of strange fish; but coming nearer, he discovered them to be men in small boats made of leather; and before he could descend down from the hill certain of those people had almost cut off his boat from him, having stolen secretly behind the rocks for that purpose; where he speedily hasted to his boat, and bent himself to his halberd, and narrowly escaped the danger, and saved his boat. Afterwards he had sundry conferences with them, and they came aboard his ship, and brought him salmon and raw flesh and fish, and greedily devoured the same before our men's faces; and, to show their agility, they tried many masteries upon the ropes of the ship after our mariners' fashion, and appeared to be very strong of their arms, and nimble of their bodies. They exchanged coats of seal and bears' skins, and such like with our men; and received bells, looking-glasses, and other toys, in recompense thereof again. After great courtesy, and many meetings, our mariners, contrary to their captain's direction, began more easily to trust them; and five of our men going ashore were by them intercepted with their boat, and were never since heard of to this day again; so that the captain, being destitute of boat, barque, and all company, had scarcely sufficient number to conduct back his barque again. He could now neither convey himself ashore to rescue his men (if he had been able) for want of a boat; and again the subtle traitors were so wary, as they would after that never come within our men's danger. The captain, notwithstanding, desirous of bringing some token from thence of his being there, was greatly discontented that he had not before apprehended some of them; and therefore, to deceive the deceivers, he wrought a pretty policy; for knowing well how they greatly delighted in our toys, and specially in bells, he rang a pretty low bell, making signs that he would give him

the same who would come and fetch it; and because they would not come within his danger for fear, he flung one bell unto them, which of purpose he threw short, that it might fall into the sea and be lost; and to make them more greedy of the matter he rang a louder bell, so that in the end one of them came near the ship's side to receive the bell, which, when he thought to take it at the captain's hand, he was thereby taken himself; for the captain, being readily provided, let the bell fall, and caught the man fast, and plucked him with main force boat and all into his barque out of the sea. Whereupon, when he found himself in captivity, for very choler and disdain he bit his tongue in twain within his mouth; notwithstanding, he died not thereof, but lived until he came in England, and then he died of cold which he had taken at sea.

"Now with this new prey (which was a sufficient witness of the captain's far and tedious travel towards the unknown parts of the world, as did well appear by this strange infidel, whose like was never seen, read, nor heard of before, and whose language was neither known nor understood of any), the said Captain Frobisher returned homewards, and arrived in England in Harwich the 2nd of October following, and thence came to London, 1576, where he was highly commended of all men for his great and notable attempt, but specially famous for the great hope he brought of the passage to Cathay, which he doubted nothing at all to find and pass through in these parts, as he reporteth.

"And it is specially to be remembered that at their first arrival in those parts there lay so great store of ice all the coast along, so thick together, that hardly his boat could pass unto the shore. At length after divers attempts, he commanded his company, if by any possible means they could get ashore, to bring him whatsoever thing they could first find, whether it were living or dead, stock or stone, in token of Christian possession, which thereby he took in behalf of the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, thinking

that thereby he might justify the having and enjoying of the same things that grew in these unknown parts.

"Some of his company brought flowers, some green grass, and one brought a piece of black stone, much like to a sea-coal in color, which by the weight seemed to be some kind of metal or mineral. This was a thing of no account in the judgment of the captain at first sight; and yet for novelty it was kept in respect of the place from whence it came.

"After his arrival in London, being demanded of sundry his friends what thing he had brought them home out of that country, he had nothing left to present them withal but a piece of this black stone. And it fortuned a gentlewoman, one of the adventurers' wives, to have a piece thereof, which by chance she threw and burned in the fire, so long, that at length being taken forth, and quenched in a little vinegar, it glistened with a bright marquesite of gold. Whereupon the matter being called in some question, it was brought to certain gold-finers in London to make assay thereof, who gave out that it held gold, and that very richly for the quantity. Afterwards the same gold-finers promised great matters thereof if there were any store to be found, and offered themselves to adventure for the searching of those parts from whence the same was brought. Some that had great hope of the matter sought secretly to have a lease at Her Majesty's hands of those places, whereby to enjoin the mass of so great a public profit unto their own private gains.

"In conclusion, the hope of more of the same gold ore to be found kindled a great opinion in the hearts of many to advance the voyage again. Whereupon preparation was made for a new voyage against the year following, and the captain more specially directed by commission for the searching more of this gold ore than for the searching any further discovery of the passage."

This second voyage was undertaken with three vessels—the *Aid*, the *Michael*, and the *Gabriel*. They sailed on the 26th of May, 1577. On July 16th, they reached Frobisher

Strait, which had been discovered on the first expedition. Little was accomplished or attempted in the way of exploration, as the sole commission was to search for ore, of which they found a plenty. The vessels returned to England about the 23d of September, and their ladings were submitted to a committee, who reported "that the matter of the gold ore had appearance, and made show of great riches and profit; and the hope of the passage to Cataya, by this voyage, was greatly increased." Consequently, another expedition was ordered, in which fifteen vessels sailed. But little came of it, though Captain Best says that he discovered "a great black island, where was found such plenty of black ore of the same sort which was brought into England this last year, that, if the goodness might answer the great plenty thereof, it was thought it might reasonably suffice all the *gold-gluttons* of the world." The last we hear of Frobisher's search for gold in the northwest is in a letter written from the Fleet Prison by one Michael Locke, who had subscribed liberally to the equipment of the vessels for these voyages. He complains that he and his fifteen children are irremediably ruined, owing to the failure of Frobisher to bring home five hundred tons of "a rich red ore," a sample of which had "yielded one hundred and twenty pounds a ton." Frobisher found more profit aboard the Spanish galleons returning from the south, in helping himself to which he followed the example of his piratical contemporaries, Hawkins and Drake. Soon, however, the Spanish Armada gave him just opportunity to diminish the wealth of Philip II.; and in that great sea fight his bravery won for England as much advantage as his name gained renown by his expeditions to the north.

But the main project of discovering the much-desired passage was not abandoned. In the year 1585, merchants of London and Plymouth joined with noblemen of the court to renew the attempt. They were of the opinion that the cause of failure hitherto lay in the fact that the projectors had allowed themselves to be diverted from the main object of the enterprise. Two barques were

fitted out, the *Sunshine*, of fifty tons burden, with a crew of thirty-three persons, and the *Moonshine*, of thirty-five tons, with nineteen hands. Among these were four musicians, who were considerately engaged that the voyagers might not be without cheer amid the northern gloom. Captain John Davis, of Devonshire, was given the command of these vessels, and sailed in the *Sunshine*, while William Brutum had charge of her consort. They sailed from Dartmouth on the 7th of June, and on the 21st of July they were off Cape Farewell, the southern extremity of Greenland. "Coasting this shore towards the south," Davis observes in his account, "I found it trend towards the west. I still followed the leading thereof in the same height; and after fifty or sixty leagues, it failed and lay directly north, which I still followed, and in thirty leagues sailing upon the west side of this coast, named by me Desolation, we were past all the ice, and found many green and pleasant isles bordering upon the shore; but the hills of the main were still covered with great quantities of snow. I brought my ship along those isles, and there moored, to refresh ourselves in our weary travel in the latitude of sixty-four degrees, or thereabout." This spot was named by him Gilbert Sound. The vessels remained there from the 29th of July till the 1st of August. They found a population of natives who were very friendly; and when the sailors, being on the shore with their musicians, struck up a dance, the Eskimo joined in with great delight, and by their strange and exuberant antics afforded intense amusement to the Englishmen. Davis was now in the straits which bear his name. He crossed this water, finding it "altogether free from the pester of ice," and came to Exeter Sound, as they called the harbor which they found on Cumberland Island. Departing thence on the 11th of August, they came to the point which they named Cape Mercy. Rounding this, they entered Cumberland Bay; and Davis, believing that he had found the passage of which he was in search, but the approach of wintry weather warning him that it would be

dangerous to delay longer on those coasts, sailed for England with this news, arriving on the 30th of September.

On the 7th of May, 1586, Davis again sailed from Dartmouth with the *Sunshine* and the *Moonshine*, to which were added the *Mermaid*, a vessel of one hundred tons, and a pinnace of ten tons. They proceeded direct to Gilbert Sound, and were joyfully welcomed by the natives. They proceeded northward until they came to land, on the 1st of August, in latitude 66° 33′ and longitude 70° W. Captain Davis had been deserted by the *Sunshine* and the pinnace, and at this point the *Mermaid* also forsook the expedition; the courage of the man is abundantly made evident in his observation, "in one small barque of thirty tons, alone, without further company, I proceeded on my voyage." On the 28th of August he was in latitude 67°. But he was again forced back by tempestuous weather, and he returned to England, still cherishing "perfect hope of a passage."

A third voyage was made in 1587, with three vessels, in which, on the 24th of July, Davis reached the latitude of 72° 12′, where he says: "At midnight the compass set to the variation of twenty-eight degrees to the westward." He returned to England on the 15th of September, being able to report that he had "been in seventy-three degrees, finding the sea all open, and forty leagues between land and land. The passage is most probable, the execution easy." The result of Davis's voyages is summed up by Fox, a later explorer, in the remark: "Davis did, I conceive, light Hudson into his straits."

In the year 1602, "the Worshipful Fellowship of the Merchants of London trading into the East Indies" entered into a contract with Captain George Weymouth, stipulating that the latter should sail toward the coast of Greenland and "shall pass on forward into those seas by the Norwest, or as he shall find the passage best to lie towards the parts or kingdom of Cataya or China or the back side of America." Weymouth gave his bond not to return until he had spent at least one year in this attempt. If he succeeded, his

reward was to be "the sum of five hundred pounds of lawful English money without fraud or cozen." In case of failure, he forfeited all right to either reward or wages. Weymouth sailed out of the Thames on the 2d of May, 1602. He reached Cape Desolation on the southeast coast of Greenland, and there his crew, one and all, mutinied; and despite all he could do, they "bore up the helm for England." The reason given by the men for this conduct was that if they wintered in Davis Strait the ice would not allow them to proceed until May, by which time they could arrive from England better furnished with men and provisions, having in the meantime spent the winter comfortably at home.

The next to assail the north was the redoubtable Captain Henry Hudson, whose most important discovery we have already described. He sailed from Gravesend, in the *Discovery*, on the 17th of April, 1610; and reached Frobisher Strait by the 9th of June. Instead of making his entrance there, he sailed westward, thus discovering the strait to which his name has been given. He emerged into Hudson Bay on the 3d of August. From this time his journal ceases, and we have only the summary given by Abacuk Prickett: "Having spent three months in a labyrinth without end, being now the last of October, we went down to the east, to the bottom of the Bay; but returned without speeding of what we went for. The next day we went to the south and southwest, and found a place whereunto we brought our ship and haled her aground: and this was the first of November. By the 10th thereof we were frozen in." How the long winter was spent on this desolate shore we have nothing more than Prickett's extremely brief narrative to show. That it was far from pleasant or harmonious is abundantly proved by the fact that in June, when they were again able to float their vessel, a mutiny broke out among the crew, which ended in their casting Hudson and a number of their sick comrades into an open boat, and then cutting them adrift. This being the most

important discovery hitherto made in polar seas, we will include in our pages the all too scanty journal of the voyage kept by Hudson to the 3d of August.

"The seventeenth of April, 1610, we brake ground, and went down from Saint Katharine's Poole, and fell down to Blackwall; and so plied down with the ships to Lee, which was the two and twentieth day.

"The two and twentieth, I caused Master Coleburne to be put into a pinke bound for London, with my letter to the Adventurers, importing the reason wherefore I so put him out of the ship, and so plied forth.

"The second of May, the wind southerly, at even we were athwart of Flamborough Head.

"The fifth, we were at the isles of Orkney, and here I set the north end of the needle, and the north of the fly all one.

"The sixth, we were in the latitude of fifty-nine degrees, twenty-two minutes, and there perceived that the north end of Scotland, Orkney, and Shetland are not so northerly as is commonly set down. The eighth day we saw Faroe Islands, in the latitude of sixty-two degrees, twenty-four minutes. The eleventh day we fell with the eastern part of Iceland, and then plying along the southern part of the land we came to Westmoney, being the fifteenth day, and still plied about the main island until the last of May, with contrary winds, and we got some fowls of divers sorts.

"The first day of June we put to sea out of an harbor, in the westernmost part of Iceland, and so plied to the westward in the latitude of sixty-six degrees, thirty-four minutes, and the second day plied and found ourselves in sixty-five degrees, fifty-seven minutes, with little wind easterly.

"The third day we found ourselves in sixty-five degrees, thirty minutes, with wind at northeast; a little before this we sailed near some ice.

"The fourth day we saw Greenland over the ice perfectly, and this night the sun went down due north, and

rose north-northeast. So plying the fifth day we were in sixty-five degrees, still encumbered with much ice, which hung upon the coast of Greenland.

"The ninth day we were off Frobisher's Straits, with the wind northerly, and plied unto the southwestwards until the fifteenth day.

"The fifteenth day we were in sight of the land, in latitude fifty-nine degrees, twenty-seven minutes, which was called by Captain John Davis 'Desolation,' and found the error of the former laying down of that land: and then running to the northwestward until the twentieth day, we found the ship in sixty degrees, forty-two minutes, and saw much ice, and many ripplings or overfalls, and a strong stream setting from east-southeast to west-northwest.

"The one and twenty, two and twenty, and three and twenty days, with the wind variable, we plied to the northwestward in sight of much ice, into the height of sixty-two degrees, twenty-nine minutes.

"The four and twenty and five and twenty days, sailing to the westward about midnight, we saw land north, which was suddenly lost again. So we ran still to the westward in sixty-two degrees, seventeen minutes.

"The fifth of July we plied up upon the southern side, troubled with much ice in seeking the shore until the fifth day of July, and we observed that day in fifty-nine degrees, sixteen minutes. Then we plied off the shore again, until the eighth day, and then found the height of the pole in sixty degrees, no minutes. Here we saw the land from the northwest by west, half northerly, unto the southwest by west, covered with snow, a champaign land, and called it Desire Provoketh.

"We still plied up the westward, as the land and ice would suffer, until the eleventh day; when fearing a storm, we anchored by three rocky islands in uncertain depth, between two and nine fathoms; and found it an harbor unsufficient by reason of sunken rocks, one of which was next morning two fathoms above water. We called them

the Isles of God's Mercies. The water floweth here better than four fathoms. The flood cometh from the north flowing eight the change day. The latitude in this place is sixty-two degrees, nine minutes. Then plying to the southwestward the sixteenth day, we were in the latitude of fifty-eight degrees, fifty minutes, but found ourselves embayed with land, and had much ice: and we plied to the northwestward until the nineteenth day, and then we found by observation the height of the pole in sixty-one degrees, twenty-four minutes, and saw the land, which I named Hold with Hope. Hence I plied to the northwestward still, until the one and twentieth day, with the wind variable. Here I found the sea more grown than any we had since we left for England.

"The three and twentieth day, by observation the height of the pole was sixty-one degrees, thirty-three minutes. The five and twentieth day we saw the land, and named it Magna Britannia. The six and twentieth day we observed and found the latitude in sixty-two degrees, forty-four minutes. The eight and twentieth day we were in the height of sixty-three degrees, ten minutes, and plied southerly of the west. The one and thirtieth day, plying to the westward, at noon we found ourselves in sixty-two degrees, twenty-four minutes.

"The first of August we had sight of the northern shore, from the north by east to the west by south off us: the north part twelve leagues, and the western part twenty leagues from us: and we had no ground there at one hundred and eighty fathoms. And I think I saw land on the sun side, but could not make it perfectly bearing east-northeast. Here I found the latitude sixty-two degrees, fifty minutes.

"The second day we had sight of a fair headland on the northern shore, six leagues off, which I called Salisbury's Fore-land: we ran from them west-southwest, fourteen leagues: in the midway of which we were suddenly come into a great and whirling sea, whether caused by meeting of two streams or an overfall, I know not. Thence sailing

west and by south seven leagues farther, we were in the mouth of a strait and sounded, and no ground at one hundred fathoms: the strait being there not above two leagues broad, in the passage in this western part: which from the eastern part of Fretum Davis, is distant two hundred and fifty leagues thereabouts.

"The third day we put through the narrow passage, after our men had been on land, which had well observed there, that the flood did come from the north, flowing by the shore five fathoms. The head of this entrance on the south side I named Cape Worsenholme; and the head on the northwestern shore I called Cape Diggs. After we had sailed with an easterly wind, west and by south ten leagues, the land fell away to the southward, and the other isles, and land left us to the westward. Then I observed and found the ship at noon in sixty-one degrees, twenty minutes, and a sea to the westward."—(*An abstract of the journal of Master Henry Hudson, for the discovery of the northwest passage, begun the seventeenth of April, 1610, ended with his end, being treacherously exposed by some of the company.*)

During the years 1612–1614, the exploration of Hudson Bay was continued by Captains Button, Bylot, and Baffin, the result being that the bay, or sea as it might for extent be more properly called, was fairly well delineated, and the conclusion was reached that it gave no promise of a northwest passage. Baffin, however, was not less firmly convinced that such a passage really existed; and in the year 1616 we find him again sailing northward, as pilot of the good ship *Discovery*. Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges, Alderman Jones, and the others by whom this expedition was sent out, directed Baffin to keep along the coast of Greenland and up Davis Strait until he came to the eightieth degree of latitude, unless sooner prevented by land. Then he was to shape his course west and southerly to the sixtieth degree of latitude. When he fell in with the land of Yedzo, he was to sail southward at his own discretion, it being

hoped that he would go so far south that he would touch the north part of Japan. The *Discovery* set sail from Gravesend on the 26th of March, 1616, with seventeen persons aboard, and sighted land first in Davis Strait, in latitude 65° 20′ N. How Baffin fared, and how, though he did not reach Yedzo, or Japan, he discovered the bay called by his name, and which in reality leads into the northwest passage, the following account of his fifth recorded voyage, written by himself, will best describe:

"On the fourteenth of May, in the forenoon, then six of the people, being a fishing, came to us, to whom we gave small pieces of iron, they keeping us company, being very joyful, supposing we had intended to come to anchor; but when they saw us stand off from the shore, they followed us a while, and then went away discontented, to our seeming.

"We prosecuting our voyage, were loth to come to an anchor as yet, although the wind was contrary, but still plied to the northward, until we came into 70° 20′; then we came to an anchor in a fair sound (near the place Master Davis called London Coast). The twentieth of May at evening, the people espying us, fled away in their boats, getting on rocks, wondering and gazing at us, but after this night we saw them no more, leaving many dogs running to and fro on the island. . . .

"By the thirtieth day, in the afternoon, we came fair by Hope Sanderson, the farthest land Master Davis was at, lying between 72° and 73°; and that evening, by a north sun, we came to much ice, which we put into, plying all the next day to get through it.

"The first of June, we were clear of the ice before named, and not far from shore, the wind blowing very hard at north-northeast, then we put in among divers islands; the people seeing us, fled away in all haste, leaving their tents behind, and upon a small rock they hid two young maids or women. Our ship riding not far off, we espied

them, to whom our master, with some other of our company, went in the boat, they making signs to be carried to the island, where their tents were close adjoining. When they came thither they found two old women more, the one very old, to our estimation little less than fourscore, the other not so old. The next time we went on shore, there was another woman with a child at her back, who had hid herself among the rocks, till the other had told her how we had used them, in giving them pieces of iron and such like, which they highly esteem; in change thereof they gave us seal skins; other riches they had none, save dead seals, and fat of seals, some of which fat or blubber afterward we carried aboard. The poor women were very diligent to carry it to the water side, to put into our cask, making show that the men were over at the main, and at another small island something more eastward. Then making signs to them that we would show them our ship, and set them where the men were, the four youngest came into our boat; when they were aboard, they much wondered to see our ship and furniture; we gave them of our meat, which they tasting, would not eat. Then two of them were set on the island, where they supposed the men to be; the other two were carried to their tents again. Those that went to seek the men could not find them, but came as near the ship as they could, and at evening we set them over to the other.

"This place we called Women's Island; it lieth in the latitude of 72° 45′; here the flood cometh from the southward at neap tides; the water ariseth but six or seven foot, and a south-southeast moon maketh a full sea. The inhabitants are very poor, living chiefly on the flesh of seals, dried, which they eat raw; with the skins they clothe themselves, and also make coverings for their tents and boats, which they dress very well. The women, in their apparel, are different from the men, and are marked in the face with divers black strokes or lines, the skin being razed with some sharp instrument when they are young, and black color put therein, that by no means it will be gotten forth. . . .

"Upon the fourth day we set sail from thence, having very fair weather, although the winds were contrary, and plied to and from between the ice and the land, being as it were a channel of seven or eight leagues broad: then on the ninth day, being in the latitude of 74° 4′, and much pestered with ice, near unto three small islands, lying eight miles from the shore, we came to anchor near one of them. . . .

"The tenth day we set sail from thence, and stood through much ice to the westward, to try if that further from shore we might proceed; but this attempt was soon quailed, for the more ice we went through, the thicker it was, till we could see no place to put in the ship's head.

"Seeing that as yet we could not proceed, we determined to stand in for the shore, there to abide some few days, till such time as the ice were more wasted and gone (for we plainly saw that it consumed very fast); with this resolution we stood in, and came to anchor among many islands, in the latitude of 73° 45′, on the twelfth day, at night. Here we continued two days without show or sign of any people; till, on the fifteenth day in the morning, about one o'clock, there came two and forty of the inhabitants in their boats or canoes, and gave us seal skins, and many pieces of the bone or horn of the sea unicorn, and showed us divers pieces of sea morse's teeth, making signs that to the northward were many of them; in exchange whereof we gave them small pieces of iron, glass beads, and such like. At four several times the people came to us, and at each time brought us of the aforesaid commodities, by reason thereof we called this place Horn Sound. . . .

"The first of July we were come into an open sea, in the latitude of 75° 40′, which anew revived our hope of a passage; and because the wind was contrary, we stood off twenty leagues from the shore before we met the ice; then standing in again; when we were near the land, we let fall an anchor to see what tide went, but in that we found small comfort. Shortly after the wind came to the southeast, and

blew very hard, with foul weather, thick and foggy; then we set sail, and ran along by the land; this was on the second day, at night. The next morning we passed by a fair cape or headland, which we called Sir Dudley Digges Cape; it is in the latitude of 76° 35′, and hath a small island close adjoining to it; the wind still increasing, we passed by a fair sound twelve leagues distant from the former cape, having an island in the midst, which maketh two entrances. Under this island we came to anchor, and had not rid past two hours but our ship drove, although we had two anchors at the ground; then were we forced to set sail and stand forth. This sound we called Wostenholme Sound; it hath many inlets or smaller sounds in it, and is a fit place for the killing of whales. . . .

"In this sound we saw great numbers of whales, therefore we called it Whale Sound, and doubtless, if we had been provided for killing of them, we might have struck very many. It lieth in the latitude 77° 30′. All the fifth day it was very fair weather, and we kept along by the land till eight o'clock in the evening, by which time we were come to a great bank of ice, it being backed with land, which we seeing, determined to stand back some eight leagues to an island we called Hakluyt's Isle—it lieth between two great sounds, the one Whale Sound, and the other Sir Thomas Smith's Sound; . . . The next day we were forced to set sail, the sea was grown so high, and the wind came more outward. Two days we spent and could get no good place to anchor in; then, on the eighth day it cleared up, and we seeing a company of islands lie off from the shore twelve or thirteen leagues, we minded to go to them to see if there we could anchor. When we were something near, the wind took us short, and being loth to spend more time, we took opportunity of the wind, and left the searching of these islands, which we called Cary's Islands, all which sounds and islands the map doth truly describe.

"So we stood to the westward in an open sea, with a stiff gale of wind, all the next day and till the tenth day at

one or two o'clock in the morning, at which time it fell calm and very foggy, and we near the land in the entrance of a fair sound, which we called Alderman Jones's Sound. This afternoon, being fair and clear, we sent our boat to the shore, the ship being under sail, and, as soon as they were on shore, the wind began to blow; then they returned again, declaring that they saw many sea morses by the shore among the ice, and as far as they were they saw no sign of people, nor any good place to anchor in along the shore. Then having an easy gale of wind at east-northeast, we ran along by the shore, which now trendeth much south, and beginneth to show like a bay.

"On the twelfth day we were open of another great sound, lying in the latitude of 74° 20′, and we called it Sir James Lancaster's Sound; here our hope of passage began to be less every day than other, for from this sound to the southward we had a ledge of ice between the shore and us, but clear to the seaward, we kept close by this ledge of ice till the fourteenth day in the afternoon, by which time we were in the latitude of 71° 16′, and plainly perceived the land to the southward of 70° 30′; then we, having so much ice round about us, were forced to stand more eastward, supposing to have been soon clear, and to have kept on the off side of the ice until we had come into 70°, then to have stood in again. But this proved quite contrary to our expectation, for we were forced to run about threescore leagues through very much ice, many times so fast that we could go no ways, although we kept our course due east; and when we had gotten into the open sea, we kept so near the ice that many times we had much ado to get clear, yet could not come near the land till we came about 68°, where indeed we saw the shore, but could not come to it by eight or nine leagues, for the great abundance of ice. This was on the four and twentieth day of July; then spent we three days more to see if conveniently we could come to anchor to make trial of the tides; but the ice led us into the latitude of 65° 40′. Then we left off seeking to the west shore, because we were

in the indraft of Cumberland Isles, and should know no certainty, and hope of passage could be none.

"Now seeing that we had made an end of our discovery, and the year being too far spent to go for the bottom of the bay to search for dressed fins; therefore we determined to go for the coast of Greenland, to see if we could get some refreshing for our men; Master Herbert and two more having kept their cabins above eight days (besides our cook, Richard Waynam, which died the day before, being the twenty-six of July), and divers more of our company so weak, that they could do but little labor. So the wind favoring us, we came to anchor in the latitude of 65° 45′, at six o'clock in the evening, the eighth and twentieth day, in a place called Cockin Sound. . . .

"We rode in this place three days before any of the people came to us; then, on the first of August, six of the inhabitants in their canoes brought us salmon peel, and such like, which was a great refreshment to our men; the next day following, the same six came again, but after that we saw them no more until the sixth day, when we had weighed anchor, and were almost clear of the harbor; then the same six and one more brought us of the like commodities, for which we gave them glass beads, counters, and small pieces of iron, which they do as much esteem as we Christians do gold and silver.

"In this sound we saw such great schools of salmon swimming to and fro that it is much to be admired; here it floweth about eighteen foot water, and is at the highest on the change day at seven o'clock: it is a very good harbor, and easy to be known, having three round high hills like pyramids close adjoining to the mouth of it, and that in the midst is lowest, and along all this coast are many good harbors to be found, by reason that so many islands lie off from the main. . . ."

The story of the discovery and exploration of North America in its main features has now been told; and in

point of time we are on the threshold of the period of colonization, when new communities with their expanding energies and trading instincts were to thrust their outposts forward into the interior at almost every point and carry the work of exploration onward. Rich is the legacy of discovery left by the great navigators whose expeditions we have traced to the opening years of the seventeenth century. The error of early geographers as to the nearness of Asia to Europe, and consequently as to the size of the globe, had been established; the extent and boundaries of the great continent that had blocked the way of the early voyagers to rich Cathay and the Spice Islands had been in general determined; Verrazano's theory, tenaciously held for nearly a century, of a great western sea stretching toward the north Atlantic seaboard about midway on the coast had been practically abandoned; and Mercator had prefigured the existence of the great interior valleys, though he was later proved to have erred in his assumption that St. Lawrence and Mississippi Rivers had no divide.

At this moment, the nations whose navigators had won from the unknown the New World had secured but an inconsiderable foothold on its northern portion. Colonies had indeed been planted at various places, such as those of La Roche at Sable Island, of Roberval at Cap Rouge, of Raleigh at Roanoke, of the Huguenots under Ribault and Laudonnière at Port Royal Sound and on St. John's River, and of Menendez at St. Augustine; but all these had ended in disaster, as we have seen. The early adventurers were not men adapted to a persevering struggle to wrest by patient toil the gifts of nature. They had been mainly animated by the lust of gold and riches and the acquisition of glory. Hence, it may be asserted that the main fruits of the expeditions thus far had been the attainment of geographical knowledge and an empty dominion rather than territorial possessions and extended commerce. Spain had, it is true, acquired great wealth and mighty, if insecure, power through her conquests in Mexico and South America,

but her pretensions had aroused the European nations to the dangers of her aggrandizement, and with the destruction of her "Invincible Armada" her maritime power had been forever crippled. England and France particularly had awakened to the importance of the western discoveries, and were actively engaged in adopting measures to secure the advantages of crowding within the opened portals of the New World.

It may be convenient here to summarize briefly the work accomplished through the expeditions we have traced, which antedate the true colonization period, with the exception of those of Champlain, Joliet and Marquette, and La Salle, the importance of which in the exploration of the St. Lawrence and the lake system in its region, and of the course and outflow of the Mississippi, gives them rank as capital expeditions.

The Atlantic shore of North America was first visited by the Norsemen about the close of the tenth century, their ships most probably reaching Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and New England.

Cabot, in 1497, reached the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland. In 1498, the Cabots revisited the shores of Labrador and, according to the evidences of La Cosa's map, sailed as far south as Florida.

Vespucci claimed to have sailed along the Gulf of Mexico, past the coast of Florida, and northward to Chesapeake Bay in 1497, but the evidence is strongly in favor of this claim being false and that his voyage was undertaken with Hojeda in 1499.

The Cortereals reached the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland in 1500 and 1501, and sailed to the entrance of Hudson Strait.

Ponce de Leon sailed from Porto Rico to Florida in 1513; he first touched near the site of the present St. Augustine, then sailed south around the peninsula to Tampa Bay. In 1521, he again landed on the coast of Florida, intending to form a settlement there, but failed.

Gordillo landed, in 1521, on the coast of North Carolina, in charge of an exploring expedition sent by De Ayllon.

Verrazano, in 1524, reached the Atlantic coast near Cape Hatteras, sailed southward for some distance, then coasted northward, entered New York and Newport harbors, and finally, after sailing along the New England shores, he reached Nova Scotia.

Estevan Gomez visited the Atlantic coast in 1525, and it appears almost certain that he entered New York Bay.

De Ayllon reached Chesapeake Bay in 1526, and attempted to settle a colony of Spaniards at or near the site of the present Jamestown, Virginia.

Jacques Cartier sailed through the Strait of Belle Isle in 1534, and explored the southern coast of Labrador. In 1535, he sailed through the Gulf of St. Lawrence and up the river past the heights on which Quebec stands, and on to the point where Montreal now lies.

Jean Ribault, with a colony of Huguenots, entered the river May (St. John's River), Florida, in 1562; then coasting northward, he landed the colonists at Port Royal Sound, Carolina.

René de Laudonnière, in 1564, reached Port Royal Sound, intending to occupy the country; he sailed southward to St. John's River, Florida.

Hawkins, in 1565, on his return from the West Indies deviated from his course and sailed to St. John's River, where he succored the distressed Huguenot colony.

Menendez de Avilés entered the mouth of St. John's River, Florida, in 1565, on an expedition to destroy the Huguenot colony. He then sailed south to St. Augustine, of which he took formal possession.

Raleigh sent an expedition under Amadas and Barlow in 1584, with the view of establishing a colony, which resulted in the discovery of Pamlico Sound and the exploration of Roanoke and other islands. In 1585, a second expedition, under Grenville, left a settlement on Roanoke Island; in

1587, Raleigh sent out a further body of colonists to settle in Chesapeake Bay, but they were landed on Roanoke Island.

The Pacific coast of North America was first made known by the adventure of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, who, while on an expedition on the Isthmus of Panama, first heard from an Indian chief of the existence of a great sea beyond the mountains. In 1513 he beheld the waters of the Pacific from the crest of the Cordilleras; shortly after, he descended to the shore, and, entering the sea (la Mar del Sur), took possession in the name of the Kings of Castile.

Drake, in his voyage around the world, entered the Pacific through the Strait of Magellan in 1578; and sailing northward, after calling at various places to plunder Spanish ships, he reached a point where the cold and ice compelled him to turn south, and he put into a bay of California to refit. Here he landed and took formal possession of the country in the name of Queen Elizabeth, and named the land New Albion. The exact place of his landing is uncertain, but it was not far from the Golden Gate.

Of the insular discoveries and explorations of North America, the first is that of Columbus in 1492, when he sighted the island of Guanahani (most probably that now known as Watling), one of the Bahamas group; on the same voyage he discovered and explored the north coast of Cuba, and discovered Santo Domingo (Española). In 1494, he explored the south coast of Cuba and discovered Jamaica. On his later voyages he discovered the island of Trinidad.

Cabot, in 1497, discovered Newfoundland and, probably, Cape Breton Island.

Sebastian de Ocampo, in 1508, sailed around the western end of Cuba, and thus dissipated the belief, cherished by Columbus till his death, that this island was part of the mainland of Asia.

Jacques Cartier visited Newfoundland in 1534, sighted Anticosti, which he thought to lie in the great waterway leading to the much-desired Cathay, and discovered Isle de St. Jean (Prince Edward Island).

Humphrey Gilbert, in 1583, reached Newfoundland, where he intended to settle a colony; he took possession in the name of Queen Elizabeth, but his colony was a failure.

The interior exploration of North America began, in 1519, with the landing of Cortés at Vera Cruz, Mexico, whence he pursued his march to the City of Mexico and finally conquered the country and ruled it as New Spain.

De Narvaez, in 1528, sailed to Florida and probably landed at Tampa Bay; thence, going into the interior, he marched as far as the present Alabama. After much distress he again reached the coast. De Narvaez was lost at sea, but one of his companions, Cabeza de Vaca, crossed the continent after eight years' wanderings and reached New Spain. In his journeying he had crossed the lower Mississippi, and had both suffered the severest hardships and received the greatest honors at the hands of the Indians. He had met with the buffalo and heard of the "Seven Cities of Cibola."

Hernando de Soto, in 1539, landed at Tampa Bay, and set out to explore the country which he was to settle as Governor of Florida. Though there is some uncertainty as to his travels, during three years he marched along the eastern slope of the Alleghany Mountains, reaching to within a short distance of the southern limits of the present State of Virginia; then crossing the range, he travelled west and south to Mobile Bay; turning, and going north and west, he reached a point near the present Vicksburg, where he crossed the Mississippi in 1541. Northward to near the Missouri he pushed, then again south to the junction of Red River and the Mississippi, where he died. The survivors, under Moscoso, descended the river, and, coasting along Texas, reached New Spain. Some of the party are, however, believed to have reached a westward point interior, near the line of Coronado's return march, as an Indian woman who had escaped from Coronado's expedition was found by De Soto's men a few days after her flight.

Coronado, in 1540, led an expedition from Mexico to the Pueblo country in search of the "Seven Cities of Cibola," of whose wealth the Spaniards had been repeatedly told. Further and further north the adventurer pushed in pursuit of the phantom cities, across the desert and wild prairies, till with much-thinned ranks his party probably reached a point somewhere about the southern limits of Nebraska, and, retracing his homeward course, returned from his bootless search in 1542.

The Gulf of Mexico was coasted in 1517 by Cordova, who, while engaged in a slaving cruise, was driven out of his course into the Gulf and reached the coast of Yucatan. He was followed in 1518 by Grijalva, who extended his exploration northward along the coast of Mexico. To him succeeded Cortés in 1519.

Alonzo de Pineda, in 1519, explored a considerable extent of the north coast of the Gulf of Mexico, finally reaching a point near Panuco River.

Moscoso, after the death of his leader, De Soto, coasted along the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico and reached the coast of Mexico in 1543.

As we have seen, Ponce de Leon, De Narvaez, and De Soto also sailed along parts of the Gulf coast.

Thus it is seen that the recorded expeditions, at the period we have named, had discovered the whole Atlantic coast of North America; the northern shores lying about Hudson Bay; the western seaboard through almost its entire length; the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico in their southern and western extent and a large part of their northern; the chief islands of the West Indies, and the islands within the limits of the east coast of North America. The confines of the continent on the northwest were still *terra incognita*, and the northernmost point of the mainland had yet to be determined. By the discovery of the great waterways of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, the interior physical characteristics were in large part determined and the way opened for that unexampled development which the history of the New World exhibits.

Cathay and the Spice Islands, whose attempted approach by the west had given to the civilized world the unlooked-for habitable continent, paled in interest beside the brilliant and limitless field of enterprise offered by the New World; and while the search for the northwest passage was intermittently prosecuted for nearly four centuries till success crowned the endeavors, it was rather for the solution of a great geographical problem as full of interest as peril than for the practical value of the finding. The course to the Orient by the eastern route, traced by Vasco da Gama in 1497, by way of Cape of Good Hope, in his voyage to the western coast of India, continued to be the highway of European maritime commerce with Asia. Magalhães had found the western route to Asia in 1520 by way of Cape Horn, though he had failed to find the passage he had looked for which he seems to have expected to discover in the region of the Rio de la Plata. By this voyage the southern limits of the American continent were first determined.

The prize of possession of the New World early brought about rivalry and conflict between France and England; the former claimed title through the discoveries of Verrazano and the latter through those of the Cabots. As early as 1613, the French settlers were in conflict with the English.

With the arrival of Champlain, France began actively to thrust forward her trading outposts and missionary centres further and further into the unknown land, till the region of the St. Lawrence and its lake system was dominated by her, and the Mississippi and Ohio valleys had come within the sphere of her active influence. This influence was largely built on the friendship established by the French traders with the Indians, and not on illusory titles such as the French commandant Céloron at a later period of French occupancy set up by the plates he buried along Ohio River, declaring the river and the lands adjacent the possession of the French king, or by such theatrical possessory ceremonies as that of Saint-Lusson at Sault Ste. Marie in the name of his sovereign. The final struggle and the overthrow

of French dominion in North America was to be postponed till the latter half of the eighteenth century.

As the discovery of the continent of North America resulted from the attempt to find a western waterway to the East, so the discovery of the lost links in its coast line resulted from similar endeavors. In 1728, Captain Vitus Bering, in the service of Russia, attacked the problem of the seaway to the north of the continent from the Pacific side. After exploring the coast of Kamchatka, he proceeded northward until he discovered the strait that bears his name, exploring the coast to latitude 69° N.; thus he defined the extreme northwestern confine of the continent. Captain Cook, in 1778, explored the Pacific coast and Bering Strait on both sides in his quest of a passage round the north of the continent from the Pacific Ocean. With Cook was Vancouver, who in 1791 continued the Pacific explorations, during which he examined the coasts of Vancouver Island and the mainland coasts adjacent. The western coast of North America had by this time yielded up its chief secrets to the indefatigable navigators; the northern outlet of the Pacific Ocean had been oversailed, and the great Arctic Ocean entered; and gradually, by dint of the courage and tenacious perseverance which glorifies the history of this quest, the extremities of discovery were approximating.

In 1819, Lieutenant Parry penetrated to Melville Sound, and three years later Sir John Franklin and others, starting from the west coast of Hudson Bay, travelled by way of Great Slave Lake and Coppermine River to Coronation Gulf. This brought them into the Arctic Ocean from the west. In 1829, Sir John Ross discovered Boothia Felix, thus determining the northernmost point of the continent, in latitude 72° N. In 1845, Franklin was again at the head of an expedition, sent out by the British Admiralty, in further quest of the baffling northwest passage; not returning, a new stimulus was given to northern exploration in the endeavor to ascertain his fate. An expedition with this purpose in view was sent out from England in 1850, under

Captain MacClure. He passed through Bering Strait, and then sailed eastward on the Arctic Ocean, between Banks Land and Prince Albert Land, until, at a point within twenty-five miles of Melville Sound, he was obliged to abandon his ship. He was rescued by Captains McClintock and Kellett near Melville Island. Thus, though it was not navigated, the existence of a northwest passage was proved, and the great problem which had exercised the minds of navigators since the days of John Cabot was solved.

The quest of a way to Cathay perilously groped across the unknown waste of the Atlantic in 1492—the familiar coasting of the shores of a vast continent; such are the extremes of our story of the discovery and exploration of North America. Between them, little more than a century in point of years, the misconceptions of early geographers had been disclosed by the revelation of the New World; a changed direction had been given to Old World ambition; and a rich field of enterprise opened that stimulated the keenest rivalry and promised to employ the best energies of European nations.

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